

685
529.13
37

A N A S S E M B L A G E O F C O I N S,

Fabricated by Authority of the

ARCHBISHOPS of CANTERBURY.

All the Metropolitical Coins, whether already published, or latent in private Cabinets, so far at least as the Author's Correspondence extends, are here engraved in one View, and illustrated with a proper Commentary.

An ESSAY is annexed, in which some Account is given of the Origine, the variable Fate and Fortune, and the final Determination of these inferior and subordinate Mints; and something concerning the Nature and particular Circumstances of them, with other incidental Matters relative to the Subject, is occasionally noticed; with Intention of throwing some Light on a Branch of the Science of Medals both curious and copious, though but imperfectly considered by our English Medalists.

To the Whole are subjoined,

TWO DISSERTATIONS on similar Subjects,

- I. On a fine Coin of ÆLFRED THE GREAT, with his Head.
- II. On the famous UNIC of the late Mr. Thoresby, supposed to be a Coin of ST. EDWIN, but shewn to be a Penny of EDWARD THE CONFESSOR; wherein a Plan is laid down for re-engraving Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables of the Saxon Coins.

By SAMUEL PEGGE, M.A.

Res ardua vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris
lucem, fastiditis gratiam, dubiis fidem, omnibus vero naturam, et naturæ suæ
omnia.
PLINIUS ad TIT. VESPAS.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. SNELLING, No. 163, in Fleet-street.

M.DCC.LXXII.

- 21 -

1911 J A M I E S L

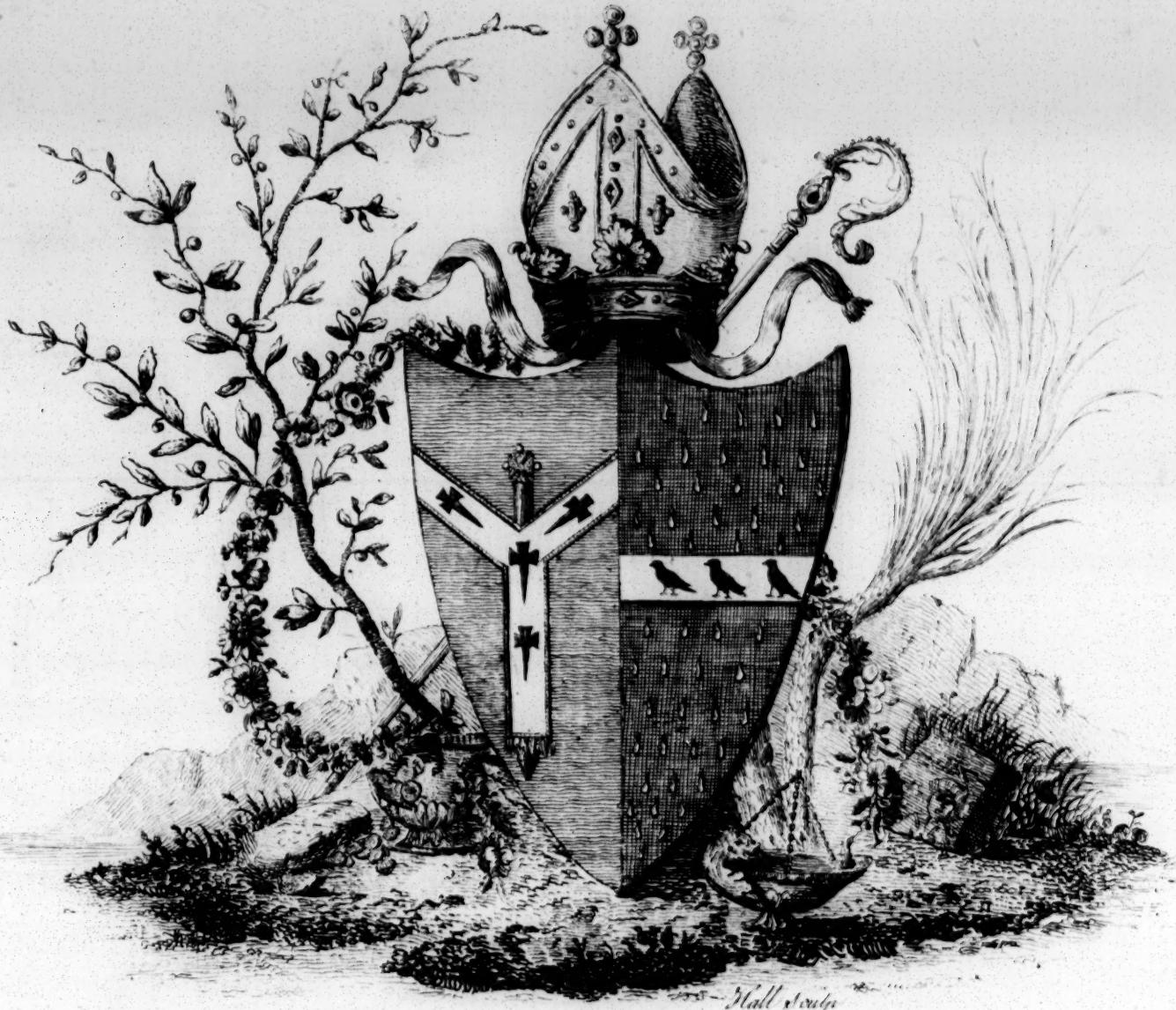
S N I O C

On the Production and Distribution

Archaeological Survey of Australia

Coriolobium eximium with a dark cap surface.

Journal of the Welsh eText



Hall Sculp

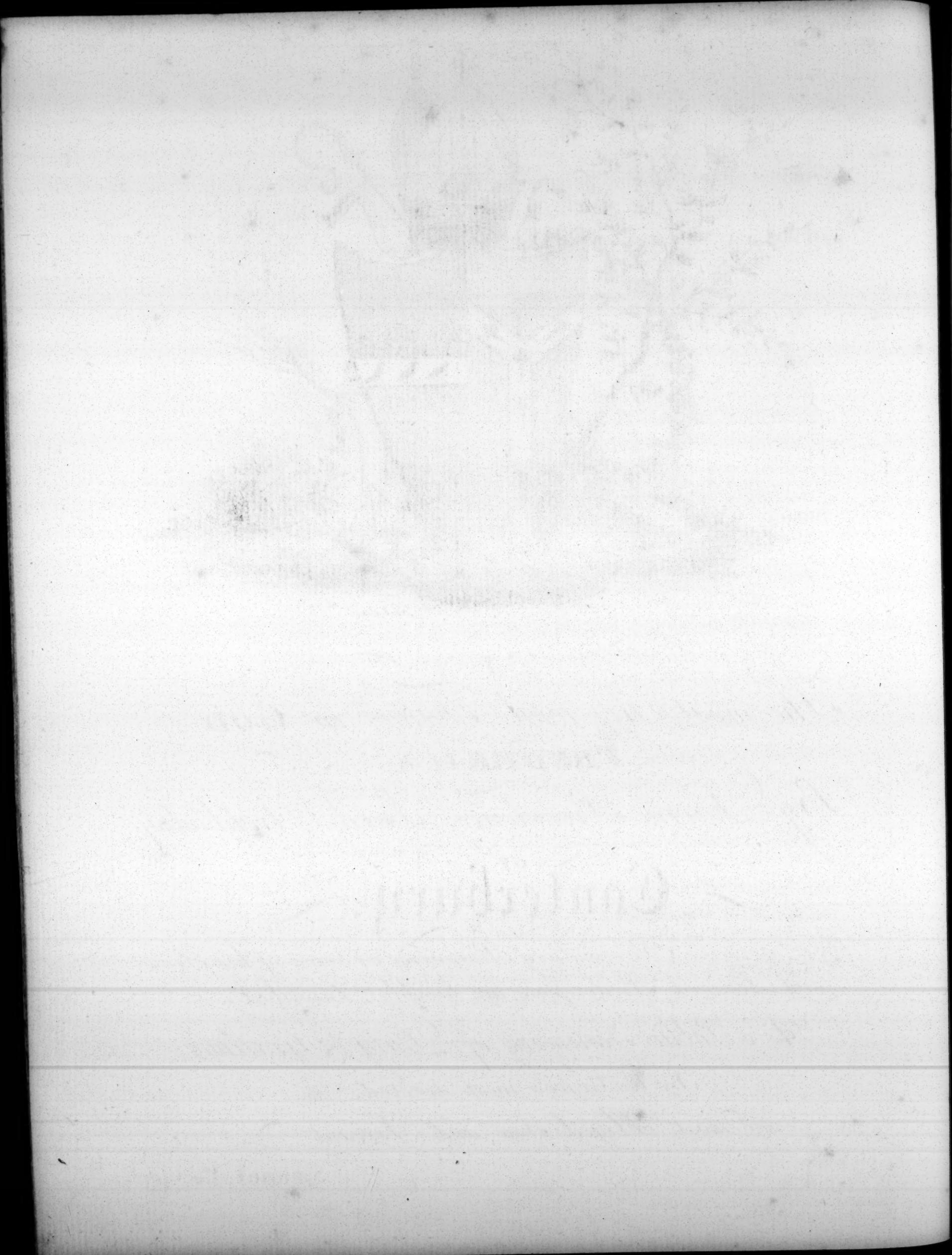
To
The most Reverend Father in GOD
FREDERICK,
By Divine Providence Lord Archbishop
of Canterbury.

These genuine Nummular Remains of some of his Pious
and Learned Predecessors, are humbly Inscribed

As a Public Testimony of Duty & Gratitude

By his Grace's most devoted,
and most obliged Son and Servant,

Samuel Pegge.



A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IF the Author has been obliged to descend to certain *minutiae* in the following performance; if he has been compell'd to mention some things which may already be generally known; there are particulars which the benevolence of the Reader, he trusts, will ascribe in a great measure to the nature of the subject, which could not be properly treated without a good degree of nicety, nor without adverting sometimes to common and trite observations.

The Author is conscious, too, of having here and there incur'd some repetitions, owing chiefly to his introducing some letters formerly addressed to his friends, which it was thought proper, as they coincided naturally with his subject, to communicate to the Public, and to give them in their original shape, since he could not alter or mutilate them with any tolerable decency or propriety. This blemish, therefore, seems unavoidable in such a state of things.

The Authors and Cabinets from whom the Coins are respectively taken, are all noted in the Commentary; and the vouchers for the various assertions, advanced both in the Commentary and the subsequent Essay, are all carefully produced at the bottom of the pages; one good effect of which will be, that such gentlemen as are desirous of consulting and examining the authorities, which the Author,

ii A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

who prescribes to nobody, very much intreats they would, may do it with the utmost convenience and facility.

It must be confess'd, at last, that works of this favour are not adapted to the taste of every one; they can only suit the palates of antiquaries, connoisseurs, and gentlemen collectors of medals; for them they are indeed more principally design'd; and yet it is hoped they may be not only intelligible, but also may afford a rational amusement, unto others, who have no intention either of becoming adepts in the science of medals, or of purchasing and forming a cabinet. And in behalf of himself, as well as others engaged in the like studies, the Author begs leave to observe, that it must be every way as allowable for an Englishman to endeavour at the illustration of a single and not the least curious branch of the science relative to his own country, as for Father Harduin or Mons. Le Blanc, Father Banduri or Mons. Vaillant, with an hundred authors more, to bestow so much time and pains in explaining the less interesting but more difficult coins of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Franks. And why, it may be asked, should it not yield as much pleasure to contemplate the venerable busts and aspects of our sage Metropolitans, doubtless the leading and most considerable men of their times, though but rudely represented, as the unimportant heads of many worthless, insignificant, and perhaps abandoned tyrants of foreign nations?

In respect of the Dissertations; he gladly snatches the opportunity, in the first, of doing an act of justice to one of the most venerable and most meritorious of our English monarchs, and of ascertaining, beyond all future cavil, as he hopes and presumes, the most authentic bust of the great king

king Ælfred. In the other, which he esteems a sacrifice to truth, he has done violence to himself, in depreting a *κειμήλιον* belonging to so respectable a person, as the late Mr. Thoresby, for whose memory he retains the sincerest regard; and perhaps in offending some gentleman, he knows not whom, who may be the present possessor of it. *Sed magna est veritas & prævalebit.* However, he thought them both necessary, on account of the references made to them in the body of the Essay, and the assertions there grounded upon them.

All he would say further is, that contracted as the subject is, he has endeavoured to render the work as extensively useful as possible; and is not destitute of hopes, that the various hints and intimations therein given may contribute to the elucidation of the Saxon, and even Post-Normannic series of our medals; as likewise that the numerous explanations of our coins here attempted, may prove an acceptable present to those gentlemen, the current of whose affections run strong towards this species of innocent literary amusement.

A D D E N D A.

P. 113. **T**HIS character P . . . came not into use upon the coins till the age of Ethelred II.] This observation, grounded upon a view of the coins hitherto published, is in part invalidated by a late discovery; for Mr. White informs me, that in his cabinet he has coins of Edward the Martyr, Eadwig, and Eadgar, with v either upon their antic or postic.

Second addition to p. 33.] Add there,

THOMAS BOURCHIER,

Bishop of Ely, was promoted to the see of Canterbury A. 1454, in the reign of Hen. VI. and died A. 1486, in that of Henry VII. This prelate was of a noble family, being brother of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex; he was dignified moreover with the purple, and his incumbency at Canterbury was remarkable for the length of it, not less than thirty-two years.

Edward Solly, Esq; of the Council at the Society of Antiquaries, London, is possessed of an half groat minted at Canterbury, with a capital B on the King's breast, in



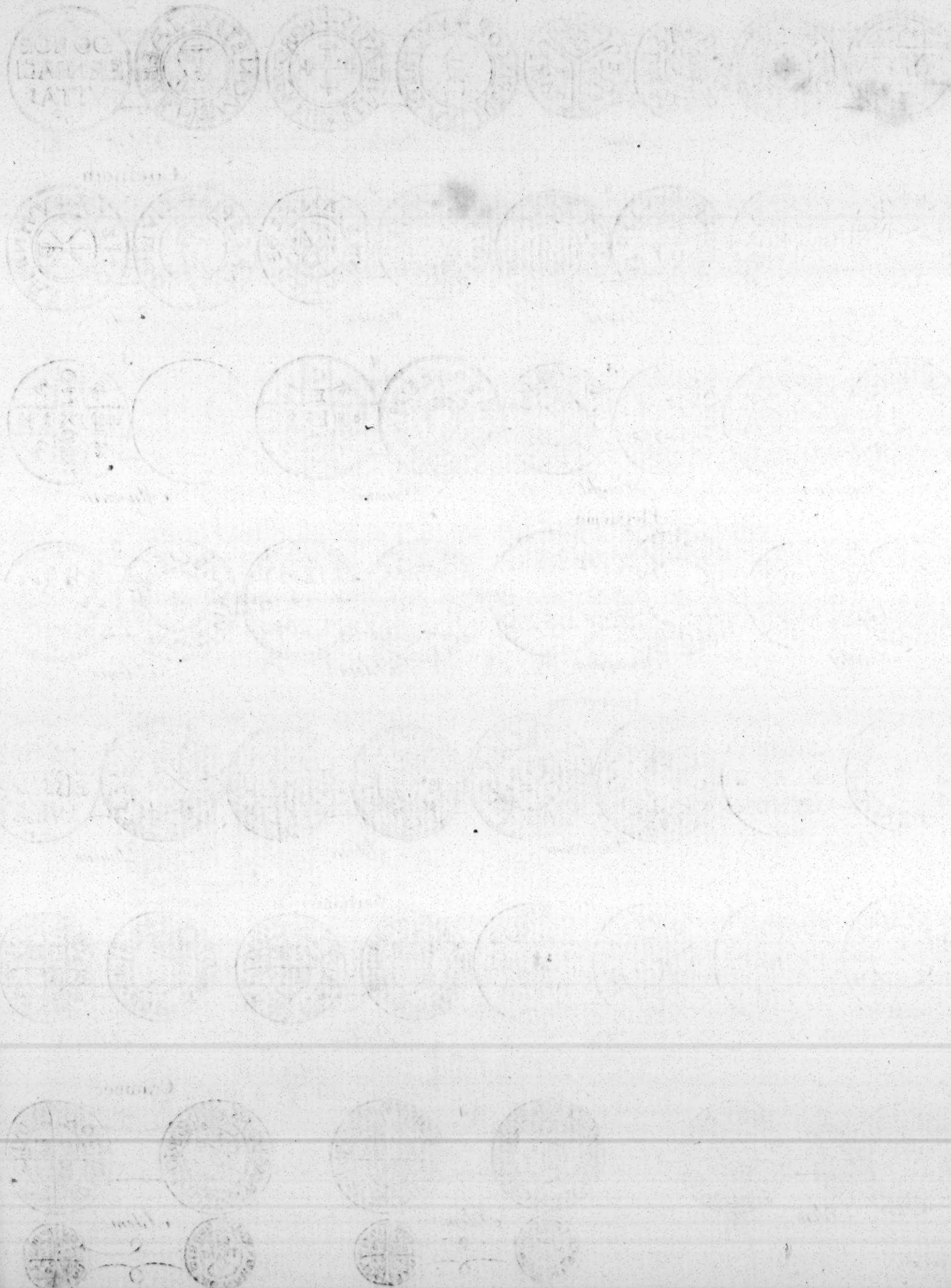
the same manner as Sherwood, bishop of Durham, placed his S, and Booth, archbishop of York, placed his B. The coin unquestionably belongs to cardinal Bourchier; and, in the opinion of Mr. White, (to whose friendship I am indebted for the notification and description of this valuable piece) was minted in the reign of Richard III. the legend being RICABDIWS DEI GRA. and in the inner circle of the reverse, CIVITAS CANTOB, the R's being made like B's, and the N in Cantor reversed, blunders which the confusion and troubles of K. Richard's reign will account for.

E R R A T A.

P. 3, 4. D is often put for D; as p. 5, 6. bis. 13. 17. P. 9. l. 18. r. where as. P. 11. l. 7. r. Willfretth. P. 13. l. 8. r. Cialnoth. P. 20. l. penult. r. Sigberet; and again, p. 21. P. 22. l. 4. r. Leftion. P. 24. l. 24. r. GENNVLFVS. P. 25. l. 26. r. at either. P. 27. l. 8. r. OHO. P. 30. l. 27. dele. and put, P. 32. l. 10. r. Pellets. P. 36. l. 6. r. omitted it. l. 24. r. et Patriarcha. P. 41. l. 10. r. spatiofam. l. 11. r. mandant. l. 27. r. vaisseaux. coutient. estoit. l. 28. r. matelots. P. 42. l. 10. r. Legatis. l. 15. r. permutatione. P. 43. l. 30. r. meajte. P. 44. l. 32. r. æris. P. 47. in Not. for 38. r. z. P. 50. l. 15. r. disapprov'd. P. 52. in Not. r. Sceafisbury. P. 53. l. 3. r. and perhaps. In Notes, (2) relates to (3) in the text, and (3) to (2). l. antepenult. r. we call. P. 52. l. 22. dele, put. P. 60. l. 2. r. needs. l. 19. per- r. perfectly. P. 61. l. 1. lost, r. left. P. 62. l. 14. r. yceat. P. 63. l. antepenult. r. LILOESENSIS. l. ult. r. gentile. P. 66. l. 24. r. permeat. P. 67. l. 27. r. it away. P. 70. l. 21. r. Cuthredi. l. 23. r. occident. P. 71. l. ult. r. monetarii. P. 74. l. 17. r. turn. P. 75. l. 11. BONLYI, r. BONLVR. l. 13. BDI, r. BOI. l. 20. W. O. r. O. W. P. 83. l. 4. r. monetarios. P. 84. l. 2. r. et liberius. l. 28. r. concessisse. In Not. for 84. r. 79. N.B. The references to the pages preceding are but too often wrong. P. 85. l. 1. in Not. r. Νομολεξιχόν; and again, p. 88. in Not. P. 88. l. 24. that, r. that: In Not. (7) and (8) are counterchanged. P. 89. l. 3. in Not. r. Hen. I. citat. P. 89. l. ult. in Not. 558. r. 588. P. 98. in Not. (2) and (3) are counterchanged. P. 103. l. 12. r. imagined. P. 110. l. 13. r. Saxons. P. 111. l. 33. r. exaratur. P. 118. l. 27. Guthman r. Guthrum.

breviaria

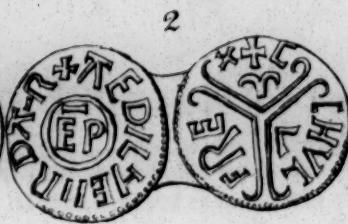
breviaria



Athelard



White



Duane

Wulfred



Pembr.



Idem

Coelneth



Devon



Duane



Weston

Pembr.



Fountaine



Knight



Duane

Museum

5



Bartlet



Fountaine



Idem



Idem

Incertum



Devon



Fountaine



Idem



Duane

4



White



West



Folkes

2



Idem

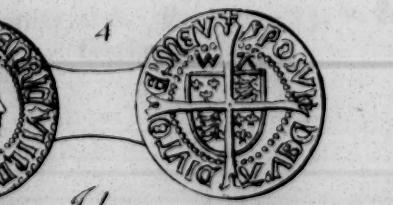
5



Idem



Idem



Idem

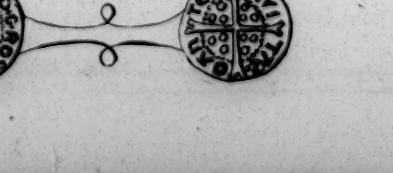
4



C. Hall Sc.



Idem



Idem

5

A N
A S S E M B L A G E
O F
C O I N S,

Fabricated by Authority of the

A R C H B I S H O P S o f C A N T E R B U R Y.

A T H E L A R D.



HE first of this series, and indeed the most ancient prelatical coin it has yet fortun'd me to see, is a penny of Mr. John White's, hat-merchant, in Newgate-street, London, whose cabinet of Saxon and English coins is one of the noblest in this kingdom.

Athelard has the character of a learned, pious, and good man (1); he sat at Canterbury from A. D. 793 to 806 (2), and had the good fortune to reunite the archbishopric of Lichfield, after it had existed as a separate primacy for fourteen years (3), to that metropolis.

(1) Mr. Battely in *Cantuar. Sacr.* p. 67. Archbishop Parker, p. 94. 97.

(2) Mr. Battely says he died A. 803. and so Mr. Wharton, A. S. i. p. 331.

(3) Rapin, p. 75. Edit. Fol.

B

This

This piece is a most invaluable curiosity, and 'tis probable the archbishops of Canterbury did not coin money before this time (1); for though king Ethelbert is said to have given his city of Canterbury to Augustine the monk, it seems to have been a meer act of curtesy, and only to have been done in the way of providing him with a place of residence, as will be noted elsewhere (2); whence one would imagine, that neither he nor his next successors would ever attempt to strike money; would ever conceive they had a right to do so; or would think of usurping so invidious a privilege. There was room afterwards for Athelard, Augustine's 13th successor, to break the ice, and to set up a claim; and the circumstances of his times, together with the appearance of things, seem to inforce the conclusion, that he was really the first that made the essay; but of this we shall say more hereafter (3).

The obverse presents us with OFFA REX ī, or merciorum, across the area; and the reverse, which has only a cross croflet in the middle, is inscrib'd + AEDILEARD PONI. The cross croflet of the heralds, it seems, is a device of remote antiquity; we have others of this age on the coins of Coenulf, king of Mercia (4), and in No. 1. of archbishop Wulfred below, as likewise on an Egbert of Mr. Duane's. The weight of this coin is 19 grains, but it is eaten with rust, and much impaired by time.

Now Offa's coins are not scarce in general, but no one, I believe, ever saw one of his pennies, till this piece appeared, that was struck by an archbishop of Canterbury; a prelate whose see was not even included within the dominions of Mercia, though they were so large and extensive. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine how this should happen; wherefore, for the clearing of this point, I shall transcribe a letter which I wrote some time ago to Mr. White, for the illustration of this rare coin.

(1) See the Essay annexed. (2) See the Essay. (3) See the Essay.
annexed. (4) Fountaine, Tab. IV.

" S I R,

“ SIR,

Whittington, 5 April, 1770.

“ The obverse of your curious and most valuable penny is clear, and evidently betokens it to have been strucken in the reign of Offa the Great, who acceded to the kingdom of Mercia, A. 756, and died A. 796.

“ As to the reverse, + *ÆDILEARD PONI*, Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, must be thereby meant, for we know not that the bishops of Mercia coined any money in the Saxon times, whereas the archbishops of Canterbury certainly did. Besides, we have no bishop of Lichfield (1) of this name in Offa's reign; but Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, sat from A. 793 to 806. Thirdly, the name on the coin accords sufficiently with the orthography of the Saxon Chronicle, where the archbishops name is written *Æpelārd, Apelārd, Adelhārd, Æpelheārd*, with some variation indeed, but agreeing in the main with the coin; the first and fourth mode of writing having *Æ*, and the fourth inserting *E*, with the *Textus Roffensis*, which gives us *Aedilheardus* (2).

“ It should seem then, that this piece was struck between the years 793 and 796, as Athelard was not archbishop till 793, and king Offa died in 796; whereupon it may be proper to remark, that whilst the pall was at Lichfield, as it was at this time, there were properly three archbishops in the island, the incumbent at Canterbury still continuing to enjoy his pall, with all his other privileges, in the same manner as before.

“ But the question arises, and this indeed is the chief difficulty respecting this penny, how comes an archbishop of Canterbury to coin money by the authority of a king of Mercia, especially when Offa seems to have been the professed enemy of that see? and had actually erected an archbishopric of his own at Lichfield? To this I answer, that Offa was very powerful in Kent, that the primates at Canterbury were forced to submit to him, and to act by and

(1) I may add, nor of any other see, that can be supposed to be within Offa's dominions; for which see Archbishop Parker, p. 93.

(2) 'Tis the same name as Adelard, K. of Wessex, successor of Ina, who, in the Saxon Chron. A. 728. is called *Æthelheard*.

"under his authority, their own prince being then much depressed, and, as it were, under a cloud (1). Offa, indeed, is said to have hated Lambert or Janibert (2), Athelard's immediate predecessor, but we read of no particular aversion he had to Athelard; on the contrary I should imagine, from the great weight and influence he then had in the Kentish kingdom, he was rather instrumental in promoting Athelard to that primacy.

"I know but one objection to the above position, that the piece was coined between 793 and 796, viz. that as Athelard was translated from Winchester to Canterbury, and consequently was a bishop before 793, this penny might be strucken by him before that date, PONI, or *Pontifex*, being as applicable to a bishop of Winchester (3), as to an archbishop of Canterbury. This, however, could not well be; for the reason given above against the bishops of Mercia holds equally against the bishops of Wessex, viz. that we know not that ever any of them coined money in the Saxon times. To which let it be added, that Offa, by whose authority the piece was apparently coined, had never any thing to do with Wessex, or the prelates of that kingdom.

I am, Sir, your most obedient

humble Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE."

"Tis very observable, that the mint-master's name does not occur on this coin, nor on some others below, though, as will be stated hereafter, it is so seldom omitted in the Saxon specie. We must suppose that the prelates, in these cases, were responsible for their officers.

II.

This penny is equally rare with the former; for though Kenulph's coins, in whose reign this was minted, are not few,

(1) Rapin, p. 58. (2) Idem, p. 75. (3)

Du Fresne in Voce. Gibson, Codex. p. 224. Dugd. Monast. iii. p. 234. 238. Mr. Battely is mistaken, when in Cantuar. Sacr. p. 61, he esteems this term as peculiar to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

yet

yet this is an unic at present in respect of the prelate its fabri-cator: it receives great light from what has been said on the former piece, and is the property of that humane and com-municative gentleman Matthew Duane, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; who was so obliging as to cause it to be engraved, with three other valuable metropolitical coins, all included in this assem-blage, for my use and inspection. Mr. Duane's cabinet is very extensive, consisting of diverse series, and richly furnished in all. In this particular branch it affords more specimens than any other *cimelium* we have.

+ ÆDILHEARD A—R \bar{P} . The inscription runs into the area of the coin, as sometimes happens in the Mercian specie, and as we see it do again in the obverse of this very piece. I take the *lineola* between A and R to be a note of abbreviation, as well as that over \bar{P} , and to intimate to us that EHI is omit-ted. The orthography of the prelate's name corresponds per-fectly with the *Textus Roffensis* (1), except that the Latin ter-mination is here omitted.

The obverse, which is divided triangularly, as the coins of Coenuulf, king of Mercia, often are (2), is to be read + EOEHVVLF REX Y, the Y, which stands for *Merciorum*, being placed in the area. The second E in the king's name was undoubtedly intended for E, and the second V, omitted in the line, or in its proper place, is written in the area under-neath. See the type.

The age of this penny may be determined to a few years; king Offa died A. 796, Egfrid his son reigned but four or five months, and then Kenulph, or Coenuulf, took the crown. So that the piece was undoubtedly strucken between A. D. 796 and 806 (or 803) (3), when Athelard himself died; probably about A. 800. Weight is 19 grains.

(1) See above.

(2) Sir Andr. Fountaine, Tab. IV.

(3) See above.

W U L F R E D.

THIS prelate, who succeeded Athelard, sat from A. 806, (1) to 830, or 832. He was a considerable benefactor to his church, and a strenuous assertor of its rights (2), and before his death procured the enlargement of his sovereign, imprisoned by Kenulph, king of Mercia (3).

I.

The first penny, from the earl of Pembroke's collection, engraved also by Mr. Wise, in his 17th table, presents us with the archbishop's head, and a full face, with a cap, and included in an inner circle, + VVLFREDI TREHIEPISLOP. Rev. a cross croslet, and the legend written round, + DOROVERNIAE LIVITATIS.

The name is here latinized, which is seldom, perhaps never, seen on the regal coins; and, I presume, as it is put in the genitive case, VVLfredi, the word *moneta* or *nummus*, is understood.

The full face is also uncommon in the regal specie; nay, I do not recollect a single instance of it, till the reign of king Edward the Confessor; those coins with the full face, in Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. VI. EADEVVARD. No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, being coins of that prince. All our prelatical coins, however, are in that form, except No. 1. of the *Numismata incerta* below.

As to the cap, which appears on this, and the other pennies of this metropolitan, (as likewise on several of the coins of his successor, as will be noted in the respective places) we are informed by Du Fresne (4), that the forked mitre of the modern shape, was not in use till A. D. 1000, or thereabouts: Insomuch that it would be in vain to expect its appearance in these old pennies; and therefore the only covering of the head, we may imagine, would be a cap, though perhaps sometimes ornamented with fringe or embroidery, as we shall find below, and as we observe it is on the celebrated gold coin of Vigmund,

(1) Battely says, 803. See in Athelard above. (2) Ibidem.

(3) Archbishop Parker, p. 103. (4) Du Fresne in Gloss. v. mitra.

or Wigmund, archbishop of York, who died A. 854, and is adorned with a similar cap (1).

Mr. Thwaites (2), indeed, thought he discovered the ancient form of the mitre, combined with the pastoral staff, and the book with seven seals, in the second coin of Anlaf, Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables, No. III. but Mr. Walker takes that device rather to represent the front of a church (3). Sir Andrew Fountaine, however, did not agree with him, but declared frankly he knew not what to make of it. It is certainly no mitre. The late Mr. Anstis observes, that bishops and abbots in *foreign parts*, wore their mitres differently, the bishops with the broad side, and the abbots with the horns or flits before (4); but this, he remarks, is a distinction not *always* observed, at least not here. There is also some difference now made in the bearing of the mitre by metropolitans and the suffragans, the former placing it in their coat armour on a ducal coronet, a practice lately introduced, and the latter having it close to the escutcheon. A nicety that was not attended to in the ruder ages.

As to the reverse, we have here the place of coinage expressed, DOROVERNIA, or Canterbury; and perhaps it is the first time that the name of a city or town occurs on any of our coins. DOROVERNIA, with V instead of B, is the ancient mode of writing, since in the itinerary of Antoninus, the name of this city is always so given; and indeed, though the difference in pronunciation between V and B is not great, and therefore we shall often find this name hereafter written with B, yet V is nearest the truth, and accords best with the etymology of this ancient name, which, in Mr. Camden's opinion, is *Dur whern*, signifying in British, a *rapid river* (5). Mr. Thoresby has a remark concerning this name, which requires some animadversion; he says, "that city [Canterbury] occurs not, I

(1) Lord Pembr. Numism. part iv. tab. 23. or, Series of Dissert. on A—Saxon Remains.

(2) Ed. Thwaites, Notæ in A—Sax. Nummos.

(3) Ob. Walker in Camden, Tab. III. No. 34.

(4) Mr. Anstis in Collections to Dr. Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, p. 91.

(5) Camden Brit. Col. 238. also Somner Antiq. Canterb. p. 1, 2. Archbishop Parker, p. 50.

" think,

" think, upon any of the monies of the Saxon kings, by the " name of *Dorobernia*, but *Cantuaraburg*" (1), by which if he means, as I suspect he does, the Saxon specie in general, and not the regal coins strictly taken and as contradistinguished to the prelatical ones, he is undoubtedly in an error. For our small collection shews clearly, that this city was often called *Dorovernia*, or *Dorobernia*, in the Saxon ages; and the same appears from Dr. Wilkins's Collection of the Councils; not to mention venerable Bede and the *Textus Roffensis*; indeed, where the language is Latin, whether in books or coins, or subscriptions to councils, *Dorobernia* is an usual term perpetually occurring.

II.

This anonymous penny is in the Pembrochian Collection, part IV. tab. 2, and will be appropriated, under the 5th article (2), to this prelate. The obverse gives us the like head and cap, with the fillet fringed, as in the said 5th article, and the inscription, + SÆBERHT MONETÆ. Reverse has, in three lines across the area, DOROBERNIA CIVITAS, with three dots above, and as many below. N.B. 'Tis here *Dorobernia*, with B.

III.

The third is an inedited coin from his grace the duke of Devonshire's cabinet, who, of his great condescension, was so obliging as to permit a drawing of his archiepiscopal pennies to be made for my use; obverse exhibits the prelate's full face included within an inner circle, + VVLFRED ARCHIEPIS. Rev. in four lines across the area, + DOROBERNIA CIVITAS.

IV.

The property of Matthew Duane, Esq; The archbishop's bust with a plain mitre, + VVLFPEDRCHIEPI. The A of Archiepiscopi, you observe, is placed under the D in *Wulfræd*, which is very particular. The name also is latinized,

(1) Thoresby in Camden, col. ccii.

(2) See also No. 4. below.

and

and put in the genitive case; see on the first coin above. The area of the rev. is filled with a curious monogram, for which I shall refer to the plate, observing that the obvious interpretation of it is DOROBERN. CV. or Dorobernia Civitas; CV being an usual abbreviation of *Civ* for *Civitas*. See the like monogram and abbreviation on the coins of Ceolnoth below. The inscription is + SÆBERHT MOHETÆ, for SÆBERHT (1), who coined money, as we shall see presently, for this prelate; inasmuch, that this curious and very perfect penny greatly confirms the appropriation of the anonymous coin, No. 2, to this archbishop. Weight is 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

V.

The fifth penny of this prelate's, never before engraved, was the property of the late Right Honourable Edward Weston, Esq; of Somerby, Com. Linc. On the obverse, there is the archbishop's full face, with his cap, the fillet stitched or embroidered, and the epigraphe + VVLFRED (2) ARCLHIEPI. whereas it is given in the genitive case, *Archiepi*. being the usual abbreviation of *Archiepiscopi*, *nummus* or *moneta* must be again understood. Mr. White has a piece much the same with this, only it gives ARCLHIEP. for ARCLHIEPI. it weighs bearly 22 grains, and Mr. Weston's something more than 21 grains. The rev. has a monogram or cypher in the area, which I interpret DORO CV. that is, DOROvernia CiVitas, and the legend is + SÆBERHT (3) MONETÆ. In the year 1766, I wrote an epistle to my learned and worthy friend, Daniel Wray, Esq; Deputy Teller of the Exchequer, and Vice President of the Antiquarian Society, on the subject of this and the second penny, registered above, which as it fully expresses my thoughts in respect of them both, I cannot do better than here transcribe it.

(1) Thus C is miscut for E in Athelard, No. 2.

(2) The name of the prelate, you observe, is not here latinized.

(3) One of the kings of Essex bore this name.

" SIR,

Whittington, Dec. 20, 1766.

" The prelatical coins of the Anglo-Saxons are in general
 " very rare: some time ago I discovered one amongst the *in-*
certa numismata in Sir Andrew Fountaine's ixth table, and
 " communicated my sentiments upon it to the society, shew-
 " ing it to belong to Plegmund, archbishop of Canter-
 " bury. (1). There is an anonymous penny in Lord Pem-
 " broke's Collection, part IV. tab. 2. which I have now reason
 " to believe is the property of archbishop Wulfred, who sat in
 " the same see from A. 806 to 832. I ground the conjecture
 " on a fine and fair piece of his, in the possession of Mr.
 " Weston, of Lincolnshire, who was pleased to send me a
 " very neat drawing of it by the hand of my respectable friend
 " John Bradley, Esq; of Lincoln, which I have here the ho-
 " nour, by your mediation and friendship, of laying before
 " the society (2), and a drawing of lord Pembroke's coin along
 " with it, for the illustration of both.

" What I propose to do in this paper is, to elucidate Mr.
 " Weston's penny, this being the *medium* whereby the other is
 " appropriated, and therein to discover, in few words, the
 " true owner of lord Pembroke's piece.

" Mr. Weston's penny was found near Limber, in that
 " part of Lincolnshire that is called Lindsey, and formerly
 " belonged to the see or province of York. The penny, how-
 " ever, does not appertain to the famous Wilfrid, archbishop
 " of York, whose life is written by Eddius Stephanus, and of
 " whom we read so much in venerable Bede, and other au-
 " thors; for I have reason to think, after considering this sub-
 " ject in the best manner I am capable of, we have no Saxon
 " coins so ancient as the time of Wilfrid of York, who died
 " A. 711.

" The person then I fix upon is Wulfred, archbishop of
 " Canterbury, who began to sit there A. 806. Stephen Birch-
 " ington (3), and the *Textus Roffensis*. (4), I observe, write his

(1) The dissertation here referred to, shall be inserted below.

(2) This letter to Mr. Wray was read at the Society.

(3) Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* I. p. 3.

(4) *Textus Roffensis* in my Transcript, p. 20.

" name

" name VVLFREDVS, as on the coin, allowing for the latinization of it. See also Wharton's *Angl. Sacr.* p. 53. 85. 87. " 97. and Thomas Sprott, p. 128, 129, in all which places " we have the same orthography, as likewise in lord Pembroke's coin of this prelate, to be cited below; whereas " Beda writes the archbishop of York, Vilfrid, and Vilfridus, " and the Saxon version there Wilfrith and Wilfreth. Here " also it should be remarked, that though Lindsey did once " formerly belong to the see and the province of York, as stated " above, yet after the erection of the see of Sidnacester, it became a part of the province of Canterbury, and consequently " was so in the time of archbishop Wlfred, which seems sufficiently to account for a coin of his being found there. On " the contrary, it was not in the province of York when the " great Wilfrid sat there.

" The mitre, or cap rather, is according to the form of the " times; see a coin of Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, " who acceded A. 832, in Camden, Plate I. No. 4. I have " seen another of the same prelate's (1), with the like ornament; and see a third of Ceolnoth's, in Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. III. as also his IXth Tab. No. 6, of the *incerta numismata*. But what is most to the purpose, we have a " coin of this very Wlfred's in lord Pembroke's Collection, " Part IV. Tab. 2. with the same covering on the head, and " the same manner of spelling the name. The mitre of the " present form, as we learn both from Spanheim and Du Fresne (2), was not in use at this time; however, had not " yet reached England.

" If there wanted any further proof, that the coin in question appertained to Wlfred of Canterbury, and not Wilfred of York, I would suggest, that in lord Pembroke's plate, cited above, there is a coin by the same master, SAEBERHT, "(for Saebert is the name of the mint-master) coined at Canterbury, and a prelatical coin too, as appears by the head " and its cap, as above. That coin, by the way, has no " owner, does not express to us, that is, the name of the " prelate to whom it belongs; but in all probability, as it was

(1) This is Mr. Knight's coin, which will be registered in its place.

(2) See Art. I. above.

" the work of the same mint-master as Mr. Weston's coin,
" and resembles it so much on the obverse, it belongs to no
" other archbishop of Canterbury but our Wlfred.

" So much for the obverse; as to the reverse, Saebert is the
" name of the mint-master, who, I think, has mostly a place
" on the Saxon coins, and consequently MONETA is part of
" *monetarius*. The monogram comes next, and lastly, under
" consideration. Now as the coin has nothing to do with
" Lindsey, otherwise than as being accidentally lost and found
" there, but relates entirely to Canterbury, I conceive the mo-
" nogram must have been intended to denote something rela-
" tive to this latter place, and I interpret it accordingly DORO,
" i.e. DORObertia, in which abbreviated manner the name
" of the same city is represented on the penny of archbishop
" Plegmund, mentioned above (1). D is apparently over the
" first O, as R is over the second. Others, perhaps, may dis-
" cover the whole word *Dorobertia* in this cypher, and it is cer-
" tainly written at length both on the anonymous coin strucken
" by Saeberht, and in lord Pembroke's other coin belonging
" to this prelate (2). I have therefore no objection to the
" other letters, BERNIA, being included in the monogram.
" *Civitas* is often expressed on these occasions; see the two
" coins last mentioned, and Sir Andrew Fountaine's IXth Ta-
" ble. Quære therefore whether CV may not be designed for
" the abbreviation of that word?

" This is the whole of what I have to say both on Mr. Wes-
" ton's elegant penny, and the anonymous one in the cabinet
" of the earl of Pembroke; I wish it may prove of satisfaction
" to the gentlemen of the society, to whose service I profess
" myself most particularly devoted, being, Sir, both their's,

and your most obedient Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE."

(1) See it here also in the plate; as also the 2d of Ceolnoth.

(2) No. I. above.

CEOLNOTH.

C E O L N O T H.

THIS prelate, whom Ob. Walker and Sir Andrew Fountaine call the *good Bishop*, acceded A. 832, and died A. 870, or 872. And as Fleogild and Syred both died soon after their election, he may be deemed, in respect of the present subject, the immediate successor of Wulfred.

He had also the name of Ciathredus (1), but on the coins the orthography is, Ceolnoth, Coelnoth, Culnod, Ciulnod, and Cielnoth, by the first of which he is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, as likewise in Matthew of Westminster, and Florence of Worcester, whilst the *Textus Roffensis* has *Celnodus*. I presume that *Colnod*, on a stica of Eanred king of Northumberland (2), may also be the same name contracted from *Coelnod*. These variations tend to shew how miserably fluctuating and unsettled our orthography was in these times, when so few were able to read and write, and there were no other rules for it but vulgar pronunciation, which, no doubt, was often extremely vicious and depraved.

I.

This penny is part of the Pembrochian Collection; it has the prelate's effigies with a cap, exactly like No. 1. of Wulfred; the inscription + CIVLNOD (3) ARLEPIS. id est, *Archiepiscopus*, the abbreviation being similar to that of the famous York coin of Vigmund (4); and that which occurs so frequently in the Saxon Chronicle, of *Arceb.* for *Arcebiscop.* The reverse gives us the ancient monogram of Christ, so common on the Roman coins after the reign of Constantine the Great. The legend + VVYNIMRE MONETÆ. Mr. Thwaites, whose notes on the Saxon coins were printed at Oxford, A. 1708, divides what I esteem to be the mint-master's name, thus, VVYN^E M^ARE.

(1) *Archbishop Parker*, *Antiq. Brit. Eccl.*

(2) *Sir Andr. Fountaine*, *Table X*, No. 4.

(3) *Sir Andr. Fount.* who also has engraved this piece, gives it CVLNOD.

(4) See the *Essay annexed*.

[magnus];

[magnus]; adding, + denotat E. Thus again, in the 11th coin of king Cnut, in Sir Andrew Fountaine's IVth Table, he divides LEODMER into LEOD MÆR, interpreting the last word *magnus*; so that the master's name, according to him, is Wine. But this I cannot approve. Mr. Thwaites was too visionary to be a good medalist. He had a notion the minters of these early times were earls, or other great men, for which I can see no reason; for though the masters *generally* put their names on the currency, and perhaps might be obliged to do so, as responsible for the weight and purity of the specie, yet one cannot rationally suppose they ranked with earls. But I shall say no more of this matter in this place, as it will fall more properly under consideration in the subsequent essay, than just to remark, that there is something very absurd in a man's styling himself *the great Coiner*; another person might term him so, supposing him to be very eminent in his profession, but it is not natural for a man to describe himself by so lofty and arrogant a title; especially, for one who was not the king's, but only the archbishop's servant, a workman at a secondary mint. I would therefore rather take it in one word, Wynimre, that is, Wynimer, by a transposition of the canine letter and its vowel, so frequent in our language, and which makes so little difference in pronunciation. The vowel for the same reason is often omitted, as in VVINIFR for Winifer, in the coins of St. Edmundsbury, in Sir A. Fountaine's VIth Table.

II.

This coin, from Sir Andrew Fountaine's IIId Table, is engraved also in Speed, Camden, and Mr. Wise's 17th Table. It occurs likewise in the duke of Devonshire's cabinet. The archbishop's effigies has the usual cap, but with a stich'd or embroider'd fillet. LEOLNOÐ ARCLHIEP. Reverse, a rich compounded cross, very curious, considering the time, fills the area, + DIAŁA MONETÀ DORO. There is no doubt but DORO stands for DORObenia, and the minter Diala may perhaps be the same workman who is written Diola on a penny of Coenulf king of Mercia, who died A.D. 819; for I esteem it no uncommon thing for a workman to change his master. See the 1st and 2d of Plegmund. This penny, now extant in the cabinet

cabinet of the Hon. James West, Esq; President of the Royal Society, to whom I have great obligations, weighs $20\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

III.

This curious inedited number comes from the cabinet of that worthy gentleman, whom I have the honour to call my particular friend, Thomas Knight, of Godmersham, in Kent, Esq. It weighs 23 grains now, and a piece being broken off, was probably coin'd for 24. Mr. White has also a specimen of the same, weighing 22 grains. The bust is like No. II. and the inscription + C E A L N O D A R C L. The reverse has in the area ~~CEALNOD~~ which perhaps may be intended for a pastoral staff and a cross united together; so that the letters CA may mean Cealnoth Archiepiscopus; but I incline to think the truth to be DORO LV. i. e. Dorobernia Civitas; LV being the usual abbreviation of Civitas (1). The inscription, however, is clear, + V V I E R E Y O N E T A. or, as in Mr. White's piece, VVI-ERE MONETA.

IV.

This penny, which is Mr. Duane's, exhibits the archbishop's bust, with a close embroider'd cap, the fillet very broad. Inscription, C E O L N O D A R C H I E P. The reverse is very singular, as the legend, which begins on a broad cross, runs into the quarters of the area, + H E R E C T A M O N E T A. Weight is 18 grains, but there is a small fracture in the edge.

V.

The obverse of this piece, which is in the British Museum, and weighs $19\frac{1}{2}$ grains, resembles Mr. Duane's exactly, so as to be thought to be the same die, as to that side. It has a like snip or fracture also. The reverse, however, varies, and constitutes it consequently a different coin, + B I A R N R E D M O N E T A. The letters are placed in the same uncommon manner with those on Mr. Duane's penny.

(1) See Wulfred, No. V.

VI..

VI.

My respectable friend, Mr. Benjamin Bartlet, apothecary, of Red Lion Street, to whom this work stands indebted for his unremitting assiduities in promoting it, is the worthy possessor of this hitherto un-engraved penny. A full face with a stitched or embroidered cap, + LOELNOD ARL. Reverse, a monogram, resembling that on No. III. BIORNROD RONET. weight 16½ grains. 'Tis the same name, though not the same person, as Beornmod, bishop of Rochester, *Chron. Sax.* p. 34. *Textus Roffensis*, p. 21. of my MS. copy. And quære whether *Diernodus* in Thorne, col. 1776 and 2240, be not mis-written for Biernmod?

P L E G M U N D.

THIS prelate was a native of Mercia, and one of the most learned men of the island in his time: He acceded to Canterbury A. 889, and died A. 915, so that his incumbency comprised the latter half part of the reign of Ælfred the Great, with whom he was a particular favourite; and the greatest part of that of Edward the Elder.

I.

We are so unfortunate as to have no effigies of this prelate, and therefore shall begin his series with one of the Harkirk coins, which appears in Obadiah Walker's Latin Version of Sir John Spelman's Life of K. Ælfred, as also in Sir Andrew Fountaine, and Camden. Mr. Walker says, on the obverse (which by mistake he calls the reverse, as likewise he does in the Life of Ælfred) is the pallium or pall, and yet, by a strange inconsistency, he observes at last, that it is not unlike the *pedum*, or pastoral staff of the oriental bishops. Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Thoresby also term it a pastoral staff; but, for my part, I esteem it to be the pall, which in after times, as Walker

Walker remarks, was very differently fashioned, and was the proper *insigne* of an archbishop. I shall insert a word here, however, on the *pedum*, or pastoral staff. According to the heralds, the arms of *Odo*, bishop of Baieux, were, gueulles a lion rampant d'argent, au crozier stafe en band sinister d'or. But I know not by what authority they assign him this coat. Why must the crozier be sinister, when, though William his half brother was a bastard, he was not, but was both begotten and born in lawful wedlock? *Gul. Gemitic*, p. 268. They seem to be wrong, too, in making the crozier of the present form; for, as has been observed, in *Archæologia S. Antiq.* p. 344. Odo's staff was of a very different figure. Besides, one has reason to suspect, that armorial bearings were things unknown in Europe in *Odo*'s days. The earliest representation of the crozier which I have met with, in the common form, is upon a penny of Henry bishop of Winchester, in king Stephen's reign, engraved by Mr. Folkes (1). And in the investitures *per baculum*, of which we read so much in the great contest about them, temp. Hen. I. the *Baculus* was probably of that shape. I return to our coin; the inscription is + PLEGMVND ARLHIEP. Reverse has three crosses in fesse, over which is ADEL, and under, VLF MO. Now Aethelulf was a mint-master of Aelfred the Great (2), and of Burgred, king of Mercia (3), who died A. 873; but Mr. Walker, by a mistake frequent in him, as also in Thoresby, Thwaites, and Sir Andrew Fountaine, reckons him to be a duke or earl (4).

II.

This was one of Sir Robert Cotton's coins, but is now lost, as many of his coins are, and consequently does not appear in the British Museum. However, it is well engraved in Mr. Selden's *Spicileg. ad Eadmer.* p. 217. It occurs also in Sir Andrew Fountaine, and Camden. There is a cross in the area, + PLEGMYND ARLHIEP. Reverse, three crosses in fesse, over which, EILMY; and under, ND MO. Thwaites and Thoresby give it *Eidmund*, but in the plates it is evidently *Eicmund*, and

(1) Folkes's Tables of Silver Coins, plate I. See also Num. Pembr. IV. 23.

(2) Sir Andr. Fountaine, No. 8. (3) Ibid. No. 20.

4) See Walker in the Life of Aelfred.

tis probably the same name with that blundered one in No. 17. of Edmund I. in Sir Andrew Fountaine's tables; possibly, he might also be the same person, as Edmund mounted the throne A. D. 941.

III.

Amongst the *Numismata incerta* in Sir Andrew Fountaine's ninth table, there is a penny which I conceive may belong to this prelate. It has in the area a small cross with this inscription, * * RIETEMVN DORO, where some of the letters are reversed, but the whole, supposing the first letter to be mis-read, or perhaps mis-cut in the original, is plainly, PLEGEMVN DORO-bernensis. The reverse has * * o * * in fesse, above which is, ENZA, and below, MMO. The coin appears also in Camden, where Walker says it is to him unknown, and Mr. Thoresby thinks it to be the property of Edmund the Martyr, his name being inverted DNVME, but what to make of the rest of the letters he could not tell. But certainly, if this penny appertained to any Edmund, it ought rather to be Edmund I: since it has more of the manner of his reign, than of that of Edmund the Martyr. The reverse, Mr. Thoresby says, is ENSAM MONeta, perhaps for Evesham, or Esham, in Worcestershire (1). But this we shall examine by and by.

It is no objection with me, that it is *Plegemun* instead of *Plegemund*, as in names of this termination D is sometimes omitted; hence, in a coin of Edmund I. we have Edmun (2); or perhaps two D's coming together, one of them might be casually dropt, as we often experience in our common writing. The lozenge-like O, thus ◻, you have on the reverse, as likewise on many of the Mercian pieces. But I shall here insert a memoir on this penny, formerly sent to Daniel Wray, Esq; and read at the Society of Antiquaries, A. D. 1764, wherein the above appropriation of this coin is minutely justified and accounted for.

" In the first table of Saxon coins, in bishop Gibson's editions of *Camden's Britannia*, we have the type of a silver penny,

(1) Warwickshire, Mus. 343. male.

(2) Sir Andr. Fountaine, No. 17.

the

the original whereof is said to have been in the possession both of the late worthy Mr. Ralph Thoresby, the *Leeds* Antiquarian, and of Mr. William Charleton; 'tis the last in that plate. Sir Andrew Fountaine has also engraved it in the ninth table of his collection of his Anglo-Saxon coins, published along with the learned Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus*. Mr. Obadiah Walker has likewise given it in his Latin version of Sir John Spelman's Life of King Ælfred, Tab. vii. No. 2. and indeed Walker was the first of our Antiquaries that exhibited it.

" 'Tis plain Sir Andrew Fountaine knew not well to whom to refer this piece, having placed it amongst the *Incera Numismata*, and passed it over in silence in his Commentary. Obadiah Walker in his notes, which we have in his edition of Spelman's Life of Ælfred, and in the several editions of Camden, declares the same concerning himself; and even Mr. Edward Thwaites, who is seldom backward in offering his conjectures (such as they are) lets the coin go without saying a word (1). The only author, in short, that has made any attempt towards the illustration of it, so far at least as I have been able to learn, is the abovementioned Mr. Thoresby, whose words, transcribed from his Commentary in the late editions of Camden, here follow,

‘ 35th seems to be of *Edmund the Martyr*, his name is
‘ vertyed DNVME (2); but what to make of the rest of
‘ the letters, I know not. Reverse, ENSAM MOne-
‘ ta, perhaps for Evesham, or Elsham, in Worcester-
‘ shire (3).’

" I wonder this gentleman did not rather pitch upon Eynsham, or Ensham, in Oxfordshire, which approaches much nearer in sound, and is a very ancient place, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, where it is mentioned in the year 571. (4) As this was so obvious, I thought proper just to remark it, lest any one falling upon this conjecture might imagine he had

(1) Thwaites, *Notæ in A—Saxonum Nummos*, Oxon. 1708.

(2) Read QNVME, as in his Museum, p. 343.

(3) See also Thoresby's Museum, l. c.

(4) See also Johnson's Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. An. MIX. *Lambard's Topogr. Dict.* p. 113. *Bishop Tanner's Notitia Mon.* p. 417. and *Camd. Brit. Col.* 294. *Edit.* 1722.

hit upon the right key, whereas it will be shewn in the progress of this paper, that this can no more be the true interpretation than the other.

" Before I propose my own conjecture concerning this coin, it will be necessary for me, I presume, to disprove this of Mr. Thoresby, and indeed I scarcely ever saw a more unfortunate one.

— quas aut incuria fudit,

Aut humana parum cavit Natura.

" St. Edmund the Martyr was king of East-Anglia, which containing only Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire, no town of Worcestershire, how antient or conspicuous soever, could possibly have any thing to do with him; should it be said, that in after times, namely, after his martyrdom and canonization, some religious houses of his invocation might there be founded, that is not pretended in the case, and I don't find that ever St. Edmund the king was particularly honoured at Evesham, either with a monastery, or the dedication of any parochial church or chapel. The same may be said of Eynsham in Oxfordshire. Besides, had this coin been stricken by any great abbot in remembrance of this saint, you would probably have had him called SC. i. e. Sanctus upon it, in like manner as he is stiled on the coins minted by the abbots of St. Edmundsbury (1); in short, the obverse and reverse of this coin are not consistent with each other, according to these explications.

" This general observation premised, I shall now shew more particularly, that neither of the legends are rightly interpreted. To begin with the obverse;

" Edmund the Martyr can have no claim to this coin, because there are no pieces at all of the East Anglian kingdom come down to us (2), for that penny which Sir Andrew Fountaine

(1) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab: VI. No. 24, 25, 26, 27, and, I may add, as on the S. Petri Moneta.

(2) Sigberet, king of East-Anglia, acceded to the throne A. 636, and A. 644 was killed in battle by the Mercians. As he was a Christian, and a patron of learning,

Fountaine ascribes to Eric, who was slain A. 905, belongs to Eric the Danish king of Northumberland (1); and as to that in the third table, which he attributes to king Aldulf, who ascended that throne A. D. 664, I shall take upon me to say, from the little experience I have in these matters, that the piece is no Anglo-Saxon coin (2); and further, that there is no Saxon coin extant, I mean that has yet been published, that rises to so high a date; for as to Mr. Thoresby's famous unic of St. Edwin of Northumberland, that I could easily shew, belongs to a much more modern prince, king Edward the Confessor (3). This is now a great presumptive argument against Mr. Thoresby's way of reading the obverse of this

learning, he procured bishop Felix, a Burgundian, to be sent to him from Canterbury, to assist him in his laudable designs for the promotion of religion and good literature; and the account which John Leland gives of their joint proceedings, runs thus: ‘ Ostroangli fidei precepta edocti, se totos Deo O. M. conse-
‘ craverunt; Princepsq; impendio delectatus apostoli et episcopi sui sanctitate, se-
‘ dem ei de more statuit in litorali sed antiqua sudovolcarum civitate; quam Ostro-
‘ angli veteres quidem illi, ut ex numismatum inscriptionibus appetat, DONMOC
‘ appellabant; sed postea, invalesceente episcopi autoritate, FELIXSTOW a
‘ vulgo, et a doctis Felicia dicta est; nostra tamen ætas reliquias urbis olim
‘ magnæ, at nunc longa maris violentia multum diminutæ, DVNEWIC vocat,
‘ et nos, ut latinius personet, Dunowicum *.’

But now there is no necessity to suppose that Leland meant to tell us, he had seen East-Anglian coins of the age of Sigberet and Felix, with DONMOC in the legends: Nor do I think he design'd to say he found that name on any coins of that kingdom, in its heptarchical state; for, in fact, I presume there were never any struck there. All that he proposed to advance, is, that he had seen it so written on some Saxon coins of the monarchy, since Egbert, for example; and from thence concluded, as with reason and justice he might, that this was the antient and original name and orthography of the place, before it was called *Felixstow* and *Dunewic*.

* Leland in Tanneri Biblioth. v. Sigebertus. (1) See the Essay, p. 54.

(2) Since the penning of this Memoir, A. 1764, the Rev. and learned Mr. Clarke, of Buxted, in the *Connexion of the Rom. Sax. and Engl. Coins*, a work fraught with variety of erudition, has admitted this coin as a genuine penny of Aldulf, of East Anglia, p. 416. but I don't find that our best connoisseurs agree with him. The original type of this penny, in Speed, has AVDVLFIVS FRISIN, and not PRISIN, as Mr. Selden's engraver, in the *Titles of Honour*, and all the latter draughts, erroneously give it. So that I take it to be a small medal of Adolph, duke of Guelderland, FRISIN meaning Frisingensis.

(3) Yet I observe that the York Antiquarian, Mr. Drake, is so unhappy as to take it for a real penny of St. Edwin. Eborac. in Append. p. ciii. Mr. White agrees in abjudicating it from St. Edwin, and thinks it a coin of king Edwig, but in that he is undoubtedly mistaken. See 2d Dissertation.

penny, to wit, that it does not appear, at present, that the East Angles, any more than the East and South Saxons, ever struck any money.

" But 2dly, Mr. Thoresby's section will only account for a small part of the epigraphe, viz. five letters out of twelve; and, what is worse, by adhering to it, you will be extremely at a loss how to make any sense of the four preceding, and the three following, which in that case are perfectly unintelligible, as Mr. Thoresby himself admits. This, since those letters are very fair and legible, must be deemed a material, and I should think unsurmountable objection to this gentleman's exposition.

" A third argument may be deduced from the nature of the ancient orthography; wherein, admitting that the rules of writing were not so fix'd and certain amongst the Saxons, as they are at present amongst us, yet, as they were never sparing of their letters, so they preserved much more of the etymology of the names of persons and places, than we now do. The name, as the learned author here gives it, is *Emund*; now Edmund, king of the East Angles, was killed by the Danes, A. D. 870 (1), at which time, as likewise long after, the initial syllable of the compound *Edmund* was written universally *Ead*, which signifies *happy*, from the Saxon *eadig*, or *mild*, from the Saxon *eað* (2); so the Saxon Chronicle, and the coins give it every where. From whence I argue, that *Emund* can never be put for *Eadmund*, too many letters being omitted. One, it is possible, might be dropt by the accidental mistake of the graver, but scarcely two. The conclusion is, that this cannot be the money of St. Edmund the Martyr.

" 4thly and lastly, as the martyr was slain in the year 870, which coincides with the reign of king Ethelred I. this was before reverses of this form, with legends across the area, were brought into use, they not being introduced till the next reign, so far as we can judge from the coins already published.

" But here it may be asked, Though the piece appertains not to *Edmund the Martyr*, may it not be the property of some other prince of the same name, of Edmund I. or Edmund Ironside? I shall reply to this question, and then I have done

(1) Rapin, p. 89.

(2) Gibson ad Chron. Sax. p. 51.

with the obverse. The second argument from the unintelligibility of the rest of the inscription, in case you bestow the piece upon any Edmund; and the third argument from the ancient full manner of writing the name, hold equally against both the other Edmunds. The coins are unanimous in representing the names, *Eadmund*, both on the money of Edmund I. who succeeded his brother, A. 841, and on that of Edmund Ironside, who came to the crown A. 1016. The fourth argument again, drawn from the form of the reverse, excludes likewise *Ironside's* title, for reverses of that complexion were left off by the Saxons long before his reign, as we shall have occasion to remark below. This indeed does not affect Edmund I. whose pretensions, however, are sufficiently invalidated by the two former objections.

"I enter now upon the reverse, which I shall shew is equally misinterpreted. First, 'tis a palpable mistake to take the legend upon it for the name of a town, as the author here does; it being a general rule among our Saxon *monnoyeurs* to present us with their name in that place in *this kind of reverses*. There are very few exceptions to this rule; (for as to that curious penny of *Ælfred*, with his head, and a monogram or cypher in the reverse (1), the master's name is there casually omitted, as is most evident from a specimen in the possession of the late Dr. Mead, where *ÆLF* was written above the monogram, and *ZTAN* under it.) I say, there are but few exceptions to this rule, and even those are such, which, when they are duly examined, will be found to be essentially different from the case before us. Sir Andrew Fountaine has caused in his tables no less than 116 reverses with the letters across the middle of the coins, as they are on this penny, to be engraved; and there is not above five or six of them that afford us the name of the place of coinage: concerning which it is observable, that the minter's name either accompanys the name of the place, as in Tab. II. 13. Tab. V. *Eadgar*, No. 12, VIII. *Eadwig*, 2 & 4, or else is put in some other part of the coin, as in Tab. IX. *Numism. incert.* No. 5 and 6. From whence we learn, that when the name of the master is put in any other place but the

(1) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. I. No. 9.

area, then, you have the word CIVITAS or ECCLESIA, or some abbreviation of them, by way of explanation, along with the name of the place in the said area: And moreover, that wherever the letters *MO* follow the name, as they do in the reverse we are now upon, the name of the mint-master, and not of the place of coinage, is always intended; whence it follows, that instead of reading the inscription ENSAM MO-neta, as Mr. Thoresby does, and interpreting it of any town or city, it ought to be filled up thus, ENSAM MOnetarius (1), informing us that *Ensam*, whoever he was, was the master of the mint where this piece was coin'd. For the truth of this observation I appeal to a penny of Anlaf's, in Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. III. where the word is given more at length, MINETRIV, which can stand for nothing else but the word Monetarius, the Saxon graver being led into that mode of spelling, by the vernacular myner. I appeal to another in Tab. VI. Edmund, No. 25, where it is MONETAI, the last stroke being part of R, the like unfinished letters being common at the end of inscriptions upon coins both before and after the Norman Conquest. I appeal to a third, in Le Blanc, p. 58, where it is written fuller, ERPONE MONETARI; see also No. 5. and 55. in that Table, to mention no more, in both which the word is complete, MXIM^o M^oNETARI^o and CENULFVS MONETARIVS (2). This explication of the reverse effectually excludes Mr. Thoresby's conjecture about the town of Evesham, as also it does the other above-mentioned, concerning the town of Eynsham.

" But to say the truth, the orthography will not permit us, 2dly, to think of either of these places. The coin must have been struck, to express myself at present in the gross, before the year 978, when Ethelred II. acceded to the throne, no coins appearing after that date with reverses exhibiting the minter's name in the field or area. Now in that early age, and long after, the name of the town of Evesham in Worcestershire, was never written shorter than Euesham, Eouesham, Heuesham, Eviham, Evyham, Ewesham, Evesham,

(1) See the Essay.

(2) See again in the Essay.

or Eofesham (1). Besides, the second letter on the coin is evidently N, which has no place in any of these different modes of spelling. The same objection lies against the town of Eynsham in Oxfordshire, in whose name, though the sound of the letter N be far better expressed, yet it is never more abbreviate given in these times than Egonesham, Ignesham, Eignesham, Aegnesham, Egenesham (2), Egneham, Eynesham, Eynsham (3), and Eanham, or Æmham (4). It will not seem probable, it should be represented by so few letters upon this coin, in an age when letters were so subject to abound, as *Ensam*. Contractions, in general, are the effects of time; and those who are but moderately acquainted with the *stamina* of our language, its origine, and progress, will immediately be sensible how unnatural it is, how dissonant to the truth of facts, that before the year 978, the name either of the town of Evesham, or of Eynsham, should be written *Ensam*, as on the coin. An argument which will receive considerable additional weight, when it is shewn, as we hope it will below, that the piece was coined even before the year 915.

“A third reason why I cannot agree to this interpretation of the reverse, is, that we don’t find either of the towns here named had the privilege of a mint. The printed books are silent; and as to the coins, I meet not with either of their names in the list of the places of coinage amongst the Saxons, which I formerly compiled from these pecuniary remains. Indeed were there a mint of either of these places, it would not be likely that any coins of St. Edmund should have been there fabricated, for the reason above given, viz. that the towns were both of them out of his dominions: To which I here add, that though the monastery at Evesham was a large, opulent, and ancient foundation, and the abbot, as we will sup-

(1) Gibson, ad Chron. Sax. p. 27. Tanner Notitia Mon. p. 618. Hickes, Praef. ad Gram. A—Sax. Camden, Brit. Col. 627, where the etymology of the name is given, according to the Monks, from *Boves*, the swineherd of bishop Egwine. Lambarde, in Topogr. Dict. p. 106, thinks, that as the town stands upon the river Avon, the true name may be Avonsham. But I cannot assent to this, as it is so wide from the ancient and true orthography.

(2) Gibson, l. c. (3) Tanner, In Notitia.

(4) Johnson, Collection of Canons, in 1009. Vide et Dugd. Monast. I. p. 260. Hickes, Thes. II. p. 145. and Dr. Wilkins’s Councils, I. p. 285.

pose, might enjoy his mint-office, as the abbot of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and other great prelates did, yet it cannot be imagined he would strike money in honour of St. Edmund, when his house was sacred to the Blessed Virgin (1). This is contrary to all manner of probability and experience. And Eynsham being a foundation of a more recent date, and of much less consequence, there is no room for believing, that the abbot there would be invested with the prerogative of coining; but if he was, yet, as his convent was under the patronage of other saints, the same objection lies against this, as was raised above against Evesham. 'Tis evident enough, there were no mints either at Evesham or Eynsham, that were likely to coin money in honour of St. Edmund the King; and in general, that we have not at present sufficient grounds for believing, (whatever the coins hereafter to be discovered may afford us) that even any of our kings had an office at either of these places.

" Thus I have evinced, that this coin is not rightly interpreted by our antiquary; that it neither was strucken at Evesham nor Eynsham; that it cannot belong to Edmund the Martyr; and lest any one should incline to confer it on any other Saxon prince of that name, we have likewise shewn, in the course of the argument, that it cannot be appropriated, with any colour of reason, either to Edmund I. or Edmund surnamed Ironside.

" Having cleared the way thus far, I shall now offer my own conjecture, from whence I trust it will appear, that the coin does not belong to any king of England whatsoever, but to one of the archbishops of Canterbury, and was coined in that city, where, as we learn from the laws of king Athelstan (3), the archbishop had his mints.

" In the first place, the inscription is to be read backward, from right hand to left, as sometimes happens in coins from the inadvertence of the artists that cut the dies (4). Of this there is a remarkable instance in Brenner's *Thesaurus Numm.*

(1) Tanner, *Notitia*. (2) *Ibidem*. (3) Dr. Wilkins, *Legg. A—Sax.* p. 59.

(4) Spanheim de Usu Præst. Numism. Diff. II. Sir A. Fountaine, II. 11. 15.

22. V. 18. Le Blanc, p. 86. No. 9. **EDWARD REX ANGLORVM** a penny of Edward, senior, in the Cotton Library. Thoresby, *Museum*, *passim*.

Sueo-Goth, Tab. III. Ericus, No. 6. and see some other examples cited in the margin (1). Nay, this happens sometimes even in the best of the Roman coins, as in that of Lepidus in Angeloni, p. 20. and that of Tiberius, p. 34. Some of the letters again are turned the wrong way, namely, the three first and the fifth, and this error is likewise very frequently seen in these ancient monuments (2). The entire inscription on the obverse is, *O80QANVMEDELR* ** which I read and separate thus, ** RLEGEMVN DOROborn. importing, that this is a penny of archbishop Plegmund's, coined at Canterbury. This reading I shall now briefly justify. The crosses prefixed, which are somewhat particular, both as to their number, and the method of placing, are exactly such as occur in both respects on a penny of king Ælfred's (3), whose contemporary our prelate was. The first letter is a mistake of R for P, unless the antiquaries that inspected the original have been guilty of an oversight, which I am very unwilling to suspect. The G of that form is common on the coins (4); and as for the two O's, which are here very angular, and in the shape of lozenges, you have one, which is known to be an O, of much the same form on the reverse, and others elsewhere (5). The Sax. Chronicle ad An. 890 and 923, writes the name of our archbishop with two E's, as here on the coin, and it is a trisyllable in the *Textus Roffensis*, viz. Plegmundus, and therefore I suspect that in *Flor. Vigorn.* Pleigmundus should rather be Plegmundus (6). Two D's coming together in the inscription, one of them might, through carelessness, be omitted, unless these terminations were sometimes written without

(1) Camb. Tab. I. 5. II. 2. IV. 7. V. 1. and the alphabets of Fountaine and Bouteroue; also Le Blanc, p. 58 and 86, No. 8.

(2) Sir A. Fountaine, II. 11. III. 6. V. 18. Thoresby's Museum, *passim*, &c.

(3) Camb. Tab. I. No. 34.

(4) Camb. Tab. I. No. 30. II. 5. III. 11. 31. The alphabet drawn from the Saxon coins, by Sir A. Fountaine, and that out of Bouteroue, in Camden, Col. cxxvi.

(5) A coin of Burgred's in the Cotton Library; two more of his in Sir Andr. Fountaine's III^d Tab. a coin of Coenulf, the Mercian, in the Cotton Cabinet, and the Mercian coins in general.

(6) But this I offer with diffidence, as I have seen the name written Pleugmundus elsewhere.

D, as in Sir A. Fountaine, V. 17. you have EADMVN for EADMVND. After this, let it be remember'd, that the archbishops of Canterbury coined money at this time. Archbishop Plegmund, who was a Mercian born, and a person of very considerable learning for that age, came to the See, A. D. 889, and died A. 915, an interval coinciding with the latter end of king Ælfred's, and the beginning of king Edward I. reign; and we have two pieces of his in Sir Andr. Fountaine's IXth Table, which being sufficiently alike on the reverse, and having the minter's name, in like manner as this has, in the area of their postics, (whereupon the form of the Saxon coins of this age very much depends) they appropriate, methinks, this penny to this age, and this person, beyond all contradiction. For I would observe, that the Saxon money suffered a very notable alteration in king Ælfred's reign, in regard of their postics or reverses, which, instead of an interior circle, and an inscription written round the coin, then first exhibited the minter's name in lines across the area or middle of them, a practice which continued in use for some few reigns after, and seems to me to be an argument strongly conclusive against any one's assigning this piece to St. Edmund, who was murthered before Ælfred the Great mounted the throne, as was mentioned above.

" There may be some doubt whether DORO in the legend was designed to express the prelate's dignity, as if it were to be filled up thus, DORObernenis Archiepiscopus, or only the place of coinage, the piece being undoubtedly minted at Canterbury, where the archbishops in the next reign after that wherein archbishop Plegmund died, were allowed to have their offices for coining (1). Gentlemen will interpret as they please, for I prescribe to nobody in a matter of such great uncertainty; but for my own part, I esteem it to indicate the place of coinage, which at this time, I find was sometimes expressed on the face side of a coin (2), and particularly these very letters DORO on a famous penny of king Ælfred's (3).

(1) Wilkins, A—Sax. Leg. cited above.

(2) Camden, Tab. II. 14.

(3) Sir A. Fount. I. Ælfred, No. 10. A piece on which we shall have occasion to say something in the annexed Dissertation.

But

But should any one, as I said, incline to fill the legend as above, the piece will still be understood to have been strucken at Canterbury, the archbishop's stile, in that case, very clearly implying that.

"The reverse of the coin has been explained above, and therefore all I shall say for a conclusion, is, that one good argument to induce us to receive this, as the true and genuine interpretation of the coin, arises from its making sense of the inscription, and taking in *all* the letters presented to us; circumstances, which in all candid judges must create a strong prejudice in its favour, in opposition to the forced, unnatural, and defective enucleation tender'd by Mr. Thoresby."

IV.

This number, a specimen in fine preservation, and hitherto inedited, is the property of his grace the duke of Devonshire, from whose noble cabinet, lord George Cavendish, knight of the shire for the county of Derby, was so obliging as to procure me the drawing. Obverse has a small cross in the center, with a circular inscription, + PLEGMVND ARCHIEP. The reverse gives three small crosses in fesse, above them SIGEHE, and below, LM MON, Sigehelm Monetarius. The name of the artist is genuine Saxon, and occurs in the Saxon Chronicle (1), as also amongst the bishops of Salisbury (2).

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 86. 101.

(2) Godwin de Praeful. p. 332, 333. Edit. luculent. Gul. Richardson, S.T.P.

NUMISMATA INCERTA.

I.

AMONGST the *Numismata incerta*, in Sir A. Fountaine's IXth Table, No. 5, presents us with an effigy in profile, included within the inner circle, which is very singular in these prelatical coins, and the cap appears to be tied behind the head with rubans. The inscription is + SVVEFNERD MONETA. The reverse has much the same, : SYYEFNERD MONEAH, i.e. moneta, for monetarius, and across the area, in two lines, DR VR EITS, that is, Dorovernia Civitas. Now though the proprietor of this penny be not expressed, yet, in all probability, it appertains to this species, the effigies being apparently not regal but prelatical, and the name of the place appropriating it so clearly to Canterbury. This must be allowed, unless you will suppose the effigies to represent some abbot of St. Augustine's, near Canterbury, who had his mint formerly, as well as the archbishop (1). But surely the abbot, as is usual on pontifical and monastical coins, witness the S. Petri moneta, and the St. Edmundsbury coins, would have given us some hint of his monastery, or its saint; indeed, as the monastery of St. Augustine was situate *without* the city of Canterbury, where the abbot had no business or power; and *extra muros Civitatis Cantuariae* was the constant description of that foundation, it would have been absurd for any abbot of that house to have put *Dorovernia Civitas* upon his coins; for, before the regulation of king Athelstan, A. 928, by which the prelates were restrained from placing their effigies on their coins, and were enjoined to keep their mints *within the city*, concerning which particular, see the annexed essay. The abbot, I presume, was free to exercise his privilege where he pleased, and probably did it somewhere within the precincts of his monastery. Hence, then, I am clearly of opinion, that as this coin, and the next, give us the heads of their prelatical owners, be

(1) Regulation of king Athelstan, given at large in the Essay.

they

they who they will, archbishops or abbots, they were strucken before A. 928, and that the abbot, who was then unrestrained as to the place of coinage, would never have put *Dorovernia Civitas* on his money.

We cannot precisely say to which of our primates this penny belongs, but certainly it appertains to one of them, and not to any of our kings, as Sir Andrew Fountaine supposed.

II.

The 6th also of the *incertain class* in Sir Andrew Fountaine's IXth Table, is undoubtedly a prelatical coin, as Mr. Wise takes it likewise to be (1); and, for the same reasons as the former, must be the property of one of the Kentish metropolitans, coined before A. D. 928. There is the prelate's effigies finished in the inner circle, with a cap of a very particular make, and the legend + LVNING MONETA. Sir Andrew reads it erroneously, LVNING MONETA, and interprets it accordingly, *Moneta Regis*, esteeming it thereby a regal coin, and adding, *sed ad quem regem spectat me latet*. But for this there is no room, as the name is plainly LVNING, in the drawing I have been favoured with by James West, Esq; (2), and in another specimen at Devonshire-House. It consequently can only mean to inform us that Luning was the mint-master. Reverse has + DOROBERNIA CIVITAS in four lines across the area. If the cap abovementioned was intended for a mitre, this will be a strong argument against this piece's belonging to any abbot of St. Augustine, for the coin, we may assume, was fabricated before Athelstan's ordinance of 928, after which no prelate might presume to put his own effigies on the current coin (3), and yet these abbots were not dignified and honoured with the mitre till A. D. 1063, as we are expressly informed by Mr. Somner (4). However, I lay no stress upon this, because the ornament resembles more a cap than a mitre, and that the mitre, as was stated above (5), was not in vogue when this penny was coined.

(1) Wise, Numm. Bodl. p. 230. (2) See also Wise, Ibidem.

(3) See the Essay. (4) Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. p. 28.

(5) See the 1st coin of Wulfred.

III.

III.

This number, from Mr. West's cabinet, is a new coin, since though the obverse be much the same, the inscription on the reverse is finished in three lines, and is differently divided. It is the work of the same artist, and probably belongs to the same prelate with the former. It raises 20 grains.

IV.

This penny, the peculium of Mr. Duane, has the head in profile included, like No. 1, within an inner circle, with a plain cap or mitre, but not tied behind as in that piece; + SIGESTEF MONETA. Reverse gives in three lines across the area, with three dots or pallets above, and as many below, DOROBERNIA CIVITAS. 'Tis difficult to ascertain the reading of the first member of the master's name, and the termination is not very common amongst the Saxons. And, yet I am persuaded from the reverse of a fine coin of Egbert's, in Mr. Duane's cabinet, whereon we read + SIGESTEF, it is as given above, and that in all probability the coin ought to be referred to that reign. The weight is $21\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

V.

Upon the same footing with No. 1, stands this penny, from Mr. White's cabinet; the inscription on the obverse being SVVEFNERD MONETA, with a like head in profile, and the reverse being only written a little more at large, and in three lines, DOROBERNIA CIVITAS. This sufficiently confirms the interpretation put upon 5R VR EITS, in No. 1. The weight is $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

The coins hitherto, are all pennies, of various weights, and of silver; and, in fact, we don't know that the metropolitans of Canterbury struck money in any other metal, or of any other denomination, till the reign of king Henry VII. As to halfpence and farthings, which after the Conquest were coined round and entire, the inferior mints, as we have reason to believe, were not permitted to meddle with them (1), at least

(1) See the Essay, versus finem.

not

not till the reign of king Henry VIII. The *sliceæ*, indeed, are small pieces of brass, eight to a penny, but then they are all of the Northumbrian kingdom, so far as is yet known, and Vigmund, or Wimund, the 12th archbishop of York, was the only prelate that, so far as now appears, ever made any of them. See the *Series of Dissertations on the A-Saxon Remains*, where one of these pieces is engraved, and the Dissertation there, No. V.

WILLIAM WARHAM.

Archbishop Warham was a very respectable personage, though Wolsey, by his enterprizing genius, and his legatine power, got the ascendant over him, and would but too often trample upon him. Warham revived the privilege of coining, after it had been dormant some ages, in respect of the see of Canterbury, in which he was enthroned A.D. 1504, in the reign of king Henry VII. and died A. 1532, in that of king Henry VIII.

I.

In Mr. Folkes's Tables, VII. No. 4, there is an half groat of Hen. VIII. with a clove or pomegranate for the mint mark. The reverse bears the royal arms, with W on one side of them, and A on the other, which are understood to be the initial letters of William Archbishop, or rather *Willielmus Archiepiscopus*.

II.

Another in the same plate, No. 17, has a cross croflet for the mint mark.

III.

In the supplement of plates published with Mr. Folkes's Tables, by the gentlemen of the Society of Antiquaries, Lond. 1703, Quarto, there is a third, with the fleur de lis for the mint mark. Plate IV. No. 14.

F

IV.

IV.

In Mr. Folkes's VIIth Plate, No. 6. W. A. are placed over the shield of arms, and the mint mark is a martlet.

There are others of this archbishop's coins with no difference but the mint marks, and therefore they need not be registered. But it may be proper to mention, that in the same plate, No. 11, there is a halfpenny of his with a full face. The half groats have all side faces, and are of the best money of Henry VIII. This we have engraved.

THOMAS CRANMER.

THIS great and good man, the first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, was consecrated A. 1533, and was burnt A. 1555, in Q. Mary's reign. And in Mr. Folkes's VIIth Plate, No. 20, there is a most curious half groat of king Henry VIII. strucken by him, having T on one side the arms, and C on the other, which no doubt must mean Thomas Cranmer, or Thomas Cantuariensis, as the coin was minted at Canterbury. A Catharine wheel is the mint mark, whence the gentlemen in their explanation conjecture, ‘ perhaps in compliment to queen Catharine Howard his friend, about 1541.’

In the same plate, No. 12, we have the obverse of an half-penny of Cranmer's, with T. C. placed in the same manner. This we have also engraved.

F I N I S.

A N

E S S A Y,

On the ORIGINE of the Metropolitical and other subordinate MINTS, the Progress and final Determination of them; with many other Particulars relative to the ancient Coinage of this Kingdom, both before and after the Norman Conquest.

THE Archbishops of Canterbury, Primates of All England, were formerly invested with many privileges, which, from various causes, have been long since discontinued and lost. I enquire not here from what causes this has happened, neither perhaps is it much to be regretted, that in some instances, troublesome and insignificant to the metropolitans themselves, and in others incompatible, as might be thought, with the general good of the realm, those powers and pre-eminentures have been abolished or withdrawn.

However, it will always be matter of curiosity, and particularly so to all those who are studious of our English antiquities, to enquire into the nature of these ancient privileges; in what they might consist, their extent, the history and various fortune of them, together with their final abolition. Truth is again, in all respects, and upon every subject, a matter of consequence, and it will always import us to have a right idea and conception of things, though never so long disused or grown obsolete. Both these considerations together, I hope, may apologize for the present discussion.

Our primates of Canterbury (the case of the archbishops of York, will be occasionally considered in the course of our enquiries) were once possessed, amongst their other prerogatives, of the noble and royal privilege of coining money, and did

certainly exercise it in a very ample manner, many of their pieces having actually come down to us, as will be apparent from the slightest inspection of our plate; and yet both archbishop Parker (1), and Mr. Battely (2), though they professedly treat and enlarge on the subject of their rights and prerogatives, have omitted. What I then proposed to do in this attempt, was, to exhibit all the archiepiscopal coins, that had been at present discovered, in one view, and to subjoin thereunto some necessary illustrations; and for that purpose, I not only had recourse to the tables of our coins already engraved (3), but also to the private collections of my friends, who might be so obliging as to open their treasures to me: And yet it must be observed, that great and well furnished cabinets will not afford sometimes one single specimen that may fall into a series so contracted as this. The event was, that the coins were in number 27, of which 13 now make their first appearance.

What I intend doing in this place, is, to consider, for the further elucidation of the subject, the origine and history of the archiepiscopal coinage, so far as I have been able to penetrate into it; a point, which, as I apprehend, has been very far from being generally well understood.

Now as some inferior prelates, bishops and abbots, enjoyed the privilege of striking money in the Saxon times (4), the metropolitan, *alterius orbis Apostolicus Patriarcha*, as he is styled by the Pope himself (5), would certainly be invested with a power equal at least, but probably a larger and more extensive. And in fact, the metropolitans, anciently, did not only coin money, but did it in their own right, howsoever they came by it, placing both their names and effigies on the coins. They exercised an inherent, independent, regal right, at least for some time, either by concession, prescription, usurpation, or

(1) Archbishop Parker de Veteri. Eccl. Brit. p. 37. seq.

(2) Battely, Cantuar. Sacr. p. 43. 61. seq.

(3) Sir A. Fountaine's tables in Dr. Hickes's Thesaurus, the plates in Bishop Gibson's Camden, in Mr. Thoresby's Museum, in the Numismata Comitis Pem-brochiae, and in Mr. Drake's Eboracum; the tables and plates published by the gentlemen of the Society of Antiquaries, London, &c.

(4) See the ordinance of king Athelstan, produced at length below.

(5) Capgrave Vit. Anselmi. Confer. et Malmib. p. 223.

some other mode of derivation, into which we are here to enquire.

Mr. Selden seems to think the power of coining accrued to the archbishops of Canterbury of *common right*, as lords of the city of Canterbury. ‘Et pecuniæ cudendæ jus,’ says he, ‘quod majestatis meritò confetur, Archiepiscopo ut urbis domino tunc temporis (ita videtur) competebat; uti forsan aliis oppidorum celebriorum, quæ Burgos vocamus, aut civitatum five dominis five decurionibus (1).’ But with submission to this very learned man, we don’t find that the lords or provosts of towns and cities were endowed with this privilege, *as such*; and therefore one has reason to think, the right of our metropolitans must spring from some other source. As to the assertion, that the archbishop of Canterbury was in these ages *Lord of that City*, I am well aware that archbishop Parker concurs with Mr. Selden in it; for he declares, ‘hanc [urbem] Cantuariam] muro cinctam Augustino Ethelbertus cum regalibus juribus privilegijsq; donavit; ipse vero Raculver secessit, ibiq; palatium sibi statuit (2).’ The archbishop is supposed to say this on the authority of king Ethelbert’s charter, so Mr. Somner intimates (3), but that charter is itself of most doubtful and suspicious credit (4). But be that as it will, he certainly affirms a great deal too much, since, according to William Thorne, a monk of St. Augustine’s, and an author who would by no means be backward in aggrandizing the donation of king Ethelbert to his hero and favourite saint; I say, according to Thorne, all that Ethelbert, conferred upon Augustine was his palace at Canterbury, for a place of residence, with the manor or borough of *Stablegate* thereunto adjoining, as an useful and necessary appendage. ‘Et concessit [Ethelbertus] eis [Augustino et sociis] locum habitationis in civitate Doroberniae situatum, videlicet parochia Sancti Aelphagi ex opposito regiae stratæ versus Aquilonem, per quam murus Palatii Archiepiscopalis in longitudine se extendit, in quo Augustinus cum suis domesticis usque ad conversionem regis hospitatus est (5); where

(1) Selden Spicileg. ad Eadmerum, p. 217.

(2) Archbishop Parker, de Vetust. Eccl. Brit. p. 51.

(3) Somner, p. 4, and see p. 82. (4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Gul. Thorne, inter x scriptores, Col. 1759. See also Beda, p. 61, 62.

there is not a word said of the king's bestowing upon him the fee and jurisdiction of the *whole city*. But you will say, might not the king's grant be enlarged after his conversion? I answer, though there was another grant, yet it respected the king's palace only, and not the entire city; for Thorne's words on this second occasion, are, ‘ dedit idem Rex *Palatium suum regium* ‘ *infra civitatem [Cantuariensem] Augustino et successoribus* ‘ *suis, ut ibi haberent sedem metropolitanam impertetum, &c.*’ (1) where the royal munificence, you observe, is entirely confined to the palace still (2), which he now gives in perpetuity, to him and his successors. To be short, if the Saxon archbishops, of whom we are here speaking, enjoyed the lordship or dominion of the city of Canterbury, it must have been by *meer curtesy*, as Mr. Camden expresses it from an old register of St. Augustine's (3); for William Rufus was the first king that gave the city to the archbishops (4); which agrees perfectly with the account of the state of things at Canterbury, given us in Domesday Book, where the city appears plainly to have been the Conqueror's own, as before it had belonged to Edward the Confessor (5).

So again, the lords, the provosts, or portreves of cities and towns, do not appear to us to have enjoyed the privilege of mints in their own right. Sir Andrew Fountaine indeed declares, ‘ *Istis nimirum seculis multis episcopis et proceribus jus concessum erat cudendi nummos* (6).’ And so in France, the *Comes*, or Count, seems to have had such privilege under the second race (7); but still we have no written evidence of any such indulgence granted to the ealdormen in this island. I know of but one piece amongst the Saxon coins, that can be supposed to give any countenance to such a notion; it is a stica of *Edilhelm*, with *Broder* on the reverse; whereupon Mr. Thoresby, whose coin it was, comments thus, ‘ Neither of these names are met with in the most accurate list now remaining of the kings of Northumberland. *Ethelhelm*, I suppose, was

(1) Gul. Thorne, inter x scriptores, Col. 1760.

(2) This was not what is now called the palace; for see Somner, p. 101.

(3) Camden, Brit. Col. 239. (4) Ibidem; et Somner, p. 178.

(5) Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. in Append. No. 1.

(6) Sir Andrew Fountaine, p. 174. (7) Le Blanc, p. 114. alibi.

‘*Subregulus*, or *under-cyning*, (as the nobleman is styled in the Saxon version of St. John iv. 46.) in the confusion it was reduced to its declining state (1).’ ‘Tis strange we should hear nothing of this great man from any other quarter; and yet there seems to be no other way for accounting for the appearance of his name upon this piece. Wherefore I conceive that the act of this person, whoever he was, was all usurpation, and not the effect of a legal grant. The *fticæ* all in general belong to the kingdom of Northumberland, and *Ethelhelm* lived probably in the 8th or 9th century, as *Broder* his officer, who likewise wrought for king Eanred (2), flourished at that time. But what can we infer, in regard to general practice, from one single specimen minted in times of the utmost distraction? How naturally would incroachments and usurpations grow in a time of anarchy, when both king and kingdom were in such a weak and defenceless state as to be obliged to submit to Egbert of Wessex, without striking a blow (3)? And therefore the business of the mints, in this wretched kingdom, would then probably be in much such a situation as it was in the tumultuous reign of king Stephen, when the nobles in general, as it is remarked by our historians (4), usurped the regal privilege of coining money. In better and more peaceable times, things were upon a different footing, insomuch that we have no specie of any of the great Saxon earls, Ethelred earl of Mercia, Godwin earl of Kent, &c. who, as they flourished in settled and more orderly reigns, never presumed to intrench upon the prerogative royal in this respect.

The result is, that neither prelates nor nobles coined money of common right, or in regard of their cities, towns and boroughs, but acquired the usage and custom by some other means, which we are here to investigate.

To judge from the present state and appearance of things, as represented in the Plate and Commentary; and we have no rule more authentic, perhaps, no other, to go by. Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, who seems to have been of a bold and enterprizing spirit, was the first of our pontiffs that adven-

(1) Thoresby, Museum, p. 342. (2) Ibid. p. 341. (3) Rapin, p. 641.

(4) M. Paris. p. 86. Hoveden, p. 490. Gul. Neubrig. whose words will be adduced below.

tured,

tured, in the low and distressful state of the Kentish kingdom, and under the sanction and auspices of a powerful foreign potentate, to put his own name upon the money which he coined. He advanced, however, no further; nay, he was so moderate and cautious in his novel attempt, bold as it was, as to acknowledge the authority under which he acted, by placing the names of his great friends and patrons, king Offa and king Kenulph, on his pennies.

Some perhaps may incline to think that Athelard might have a written grant or charter for the purpose from king Offa; and Offa certainly appears to have been very liberal in his indulgences this way; for in Sir Andrew Fountaine's *III^d Table* we have two coins of his queen's, with her name and head, the only lady, in all the regal Saxon lines, of whom we have any remains of this kind. To these gentlemen, it would not seem improbable, that this king might also dignify his own archbishop, Aldulf, of Lichfield, with the same favor that he conferred on Athelard.

But still as none of these grants or charters are in being, and we have no evidence that ever they did exist, the safest way seems to be, to state it as above, that Athelard was the first metropolitan known, that placed his name upon a coin. And there appears to be a valid reason for the position, from the history and origine of the Saxon coinage in general, which, as the digression is not impertinent, I will here beg leave to introduce.

It is difficult to say when the Saxons first began to coin money; I am fully persuaded, that when Hengist and his associates arrived here, in the 5th century, they had no acquaintance with the art of coining, as having but a slender knowledge of the use of money. They were a brave and warlike people, but poor, ignorant, and illiterate, as pirates may reasonably be thought to be in that age (1). When they were

(1) I think it probable, they could neither write nor read, as before Christianity was planted there, little use of letters was made in the North *. However, I shall not trouble the reader with my reasons for this supposition here, as it would carry me too far out of the way. But it is obvious to remark, that if they were really in that illiterate situation, they must have been utterly disqualified for coining of money.

* Mons. Mallet, p. 53. of Engl. Transl.

invited hither by the Britons, plunder and subsistence was what they externally aimed at, though perhaps their more private and concealed view was, a durable settlement in the island; a motive fully established and well illustrated by Monsieur Mallet (1).

The account Witichindus gives of the proposals or overtures made by the Britons, when they sent to the Saxons for their assistance against the Picts and Scots, is strong against their offering to them the lure of pay. His words are, ‘ Terram latam et spetiosam et omnium rerum copiâ refertam, vestræ mendant ditioni parere. Sub Romanorum hactenus clientela ac tutela hactenus liberaliter viximus: post Romanos vobis meliores ignoramus: ideo sub vestræ virtutis alas fugere quaerimus. Vestra virtute, vestris armis, hostibus tandem superiores inveniamur, et quicquid imponitis servitii libenter sustinemus (2).’ The Saxons, according to this author, were not addressed or tempted with any pecuniary promises as mercenaries, but were intreated, as a martial people, to take the poor harassed Britons under their protection in the same manner as the Romans had done. And in answer to the message, the Saxons make no contract or stipulation in respect of pay, but only engage to assist the Britons, who, as is natural to suppose, were to find the magazines upon their arrival, and to subsist them. And so Rollo and his crew, when they invaded France, long after this period, had no such thing as pay amongst them, but made war in the same manner. ‘ Les Voisneaux,’ says Pere Daniel, ‘ ne contient rien en ce païs-la, et la seule espérance du Butin essoit toute la folde dont on payoit les soldats et les marelots (3).’ This indeed was the general usage amongst the nations in Germany. For though the convenience of money in common life is found by experience to be so great and extensive, that one is apt to wonder how any people can possibly subsist without it, yet we learn from our printed accounts, that there are an hundred nations upon the face of this globe of earth, that make a tolerable

(1) Mallet, North. Antiq. p. 228. This was the case of Rollo in Neustria.
Ibid. p. 262. seq. and of Ingulph in Iceland, p. 269. seq.

(2) Witichindus Monach. Annal. lib. i, p. 630. Edit. Meibomii.

(3) Pere Daniel, tom. ii. p. 215.

shift to live by barter and exchange. Tacitus expressly writes of the Germans, that when they went to war, it was not for pay, but booty : ‘ Nam Epulæ, et quanquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentia per bella et raptus (1).’ And again, after telling us that their cattle was their only wealth, he proceeds, ‘ Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen affirmaverim, nullam Germaniæ venam argentum aurumve gignere, quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, Legatus et Principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quæ humo finguntur: quanquam *proximi* ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasq; quasdam nostræ pecuniæ agnoscant, atque eligunt: *Interiores* simplicius et antiquius præmutatione Mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, ferratos, bigatosq; argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus (2).’ Those, he says, that lived on the confines of the Roman empire like money, both gold and silver, for the convenience of traffick, and are well acquainted with, and will chuse some of, our money; but they who live further in the country persist in the more simple and ancient way of bartering. Not a word, you observe, is dropped, of the Germans having any coined money of their own. Amongst those remote Germans no doubt were our Saxons, who had no other method of trading but by exchange, as is the case with the like uncivilized nations at this day; and I cannot learn that the Saxons had any coined money amongst them for several ages next following; the Franks had none when they first passed the Rhine (3). Perhaps the Saxons, after they had possessed themselves of part of the Roman empire, as they seem to have done before they were invited into Britain, might make some small use of the Roman coin, but

(1) Tacitus de Morib. Germ. p. 545. or c. 14. See Mallet, p. 234.

(2) Tacitus, ibid. p. 541.

(3) Greg. Turon. V. i. In the tomb of Childeric, discovered A. 1653, there was found no money of his own, though various other jewels. P. Daniel, Pref. p. LXXXI.

at that period of time, they were infinitely too unsettled in their way of life to cultivate to any purpose the arts of peace amongst themselves, or to bend their minds towards any civil improvements, such as the minting of money. I am aware that Bishop Stillingfleet (1), Dr. Brady (2), and other great names, are against me on this head, and are of opinion the Saxons were *mere mercenaries serving for pay*, but when we reflect that Hengist was immediately upon his landing put in possession of the Isle of Thanet, the representation of Witi-chindus may be thought the most plausible; they cite a passage from Bede, and another from Gildas, in favour of their opinion, but neither of them, so far as I can judge, come up to the point; for the *Epimenia* of Gildas (3), and the *Annonæ* of Bede (4), do not necessarily imply a pecuniary stipend, but only an allowance of edibles in order to subsistence. And indeed when we consider the motives this people had in respect of themselves, for undertaking this, as well as some of their other expeditions, viz. the poverty of their country, and its being overstocked with inhabitants (5), an advantageous settlement in a better country would be a sufficient inducement to them, without any view to wages paid in money, an article, which, as we think, they had but little acquaintance with.

If the Saxons, on their arrival, did not understand the art of making money, they were not likely to learn it from the Britons, who were as ignorant in it as they. The Romans quitted Britain finally about A. 418, or as others say, A. 427. (6) at which time, they either hid, or carried away with them, a great deal of treasure; for so the Saxon Chron. A. 418. *Hen Romane geromnodon eal þ goldþond he on Brytene paxnon. Þ rume on eorðan aþyðdon. Þ hý nænig mon fiddan fíndan ne meakte. Þ rume inid him on Gallia læddon.* At this time the Romans gathered together all the treasure which could be found in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no body could ever find it afterwards, and the rest they carried away with them into Gaul. By goldþond here I understand money in general, as Mr. Hearne does (7), and for

(1) Stillingfleet, *Antiq. of Brit. Churches*, p. 320. (2) Brady, p. 94, 95.

(3) *Gildæ Historia*, p. 16. Edit. Gale.

(4) Beda, I. 15. where by *Annonæ* is clearly meant *Alimentorum Copia*.

(5) Dr. Brady, p. 94. (6) Rapin, p. 24.

(7) Hearne, *Pref. to Antiq. of Glastonbury*, p. 29.

the truth of this fact in the gross we may appeal to various authors, who have given us instances of Roman coins hidden in this manner, and of later years discovered; nay, the like discoveries are even now daily made. It is not to be supposed, that the Roman specie was on this occasion *entirely* buried and carried off; this people did all they could to impoverish the island upon their departure, that the enemy, the Picts and Scots, might not enrich himself with its spoils, but no doubt there would still remain some portion, some specimens, of Roman money in Britain, which the inhabitants would naturally continue to use. The stock, probably, would not be large; however, there must in reason be *some* in the hands of the natives. Besides, the communication with Gaul was still kept open, and probably some small quantity of money might be imported from thence. And whereas a peace was afterwards concluded between the Britons and Scots, whereby the former were to pay the latter a sum of money, the payment was either made by weight, or in specie accruing from these two sources, the money left behind by the Romans, and what the Britons acquired by their commerce with Gaul.

Now as the retiring Romans chose to leave so little specie behind them, the presumption is, that they took away with them all their implements of coining, and their mint-masters, insomuch that the whole business of making money here was absolutely at an end. The Britons could not possibly be versed in it, for whilst the Romans maintained their empire amongst them, they were not permitted to coin, this being a prerogative which that polite people always reserved to themselves. The testimony of Gildas in respect of the Britons, after the Romans had once subdued them, is very clear and strong: ‘Ita ut non Britannia sed Romana insula conferetur, et quicquid habere potuisset ævis, argenti, vel auri, imagine Cæsaris notaretur (1).’

Gentlemen, I observe, are disposed to express their wonder, that we have no coins remaining of the British princes that flourished here after the Romans left the island. That we should meet with no coins, for example, of Vortigern, Vorti-

(1) Gildas, Hist. p. 11. See the Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin, p. 20.

mer,

mer, Ambrosius Aurelianus, and those other princes whose reigns were concurrent with the Saxon heptarchy. But the reason of this, methinks, is sufficiently apparent. The Romans had taken the mints into their own hands, exercising them *exclusively* whilst they continued here, and when they withdrew carried the art of coining away with them: By which means, the British kings that succeeded them, never had it in their power to strike money; they had neither implements for the purpose, nor skill, but were obliged to content themselves with the slender remains of the Roman circulation that happened to be left amongst them. Mr. Speed indeed has complimented Uter Pendragon with a single piece, and as I do not at present recollect to have seen it any where disproved, and it is so pertinent to the subject here under consideration, I shall take the liberty of bestowing a few words upon it. The piece was formerly a part of the Cotton cabinet, but is now secreted; and what led Mr. Speed, as I judge, to confer it upon Pendragon, was an appearance of similitude, as he thought, between the name, and the legend of the coin, + PÆNDRAED MVNITA REX. Reverse, PENDRED. But now I observe, first, that this supposed similarity is very inconsiderable, the last letter of the name being D and not G, which, though it may in appearance be a very trifling particular, yet it alters the case extremely, as the name then will be Pendraed, and not Pendraeg. Secondly, Pendragon was not this prince's proper name, for that was *Uter*, of which there are not the least traces upon the coin; Pendragon was only a title of office or dignity, as we are sufficiently taught both by Mr. Baxter (1) and Mr. Wise (2). Quære then, thirdly, to what series this ancient and difficult piece belongs? To no other, in my judgment, than the Saxon, being minted, as I take it, in the 10th century, when the Saxons coined some little gold, of which metal it seems this piece was. The opinion I shall now briefly support, REX, stands immediately under the king's head, independently on the rest of the legend (3); and is intended to insinuate, that it is a regal, and not a prelatical coin; the epi-

(1) Baxter, G'off. in voce.

(2) Mr. Wise's letter to Dr. Mead, on Antiq. of Berkshire, p. 46.

(3) Camd. I Tab. of Brit. Coins, No. 10.

graphē then will be, + PAENDRÆD MVNITARIUS. Reverse, PENDRED. Now it is no uncommon thing to see the minter's name on a coin without the king's or the prelate's, by whose authority the piece was struck (1). His name also occurs sometimes on both sides the coin, as here (2); and it is not without example that the name is differently written on the same coin (3), so unsettled were our ancestors at that time in their orthography. As for V in MVNITARIUS, the 5th vowel is perpetually put for the 4th (4); and in the present case not improperly, because of the Saxon mynē and mynetene, and accordingly we actually find it so written on a coin of Sihtric, king of Northumberland (5). There are a thousand instances of the permutation of these two vowels, as likewise of the counterchanging of E and I, so that I need not insist any longer on these particulars.

To return to the subject; the rude and unpolished Saxons received a good share of improvement and cultivation, no doubt, from their intimacy and converse with their hosts the Britons, but in no article less, than in the performances and productions of the mint, which those preceptors were incapable of teaching them. Hengist, it is thought, arrived A. 449, when the art of coining was here in a manner unknown, when there was no example of it, no encouragement to it, no means suitable for the attempt, and, to say all in one word, little or no occasion for it. Their case was widely different, in this, from that of the Franks in Gaul, who, upon their passing the Rhine under Clovis, A. 486, and seizing upon the city of Treves, where the Romans had a very prolific mint, might fall upon making money very early. ‘ Ils purent mesme se servir de leurs ouvriers et de leurs machines, &c.’ ‘ The Francs,’ says Monsieur Le Blanc, ‘ might even make use of the Roman

(1) Lord Pembroke, Part IV. Tab. 23. Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. IX. Num. incerta, No. 5.

(2) Sir A. Fount. loc. cit. Camden, Sax. Coins, I. No. 32.

(3) Camd. Sax. Coins, I. No. 32. The coin of Aldulf, in Speed, p. 262.

(4) Hence Bede and the Itinerary Londonia and Londinium, whilst the Sax. Chron. has Lundene. Lundone, &c. The coins have it Eboracum, but the Itinerary Eburacum. Dr. Gale's Comment. p. 19. Drake's Eboracum, p. 6. So Victoria for Victoria is common. Speed, p. 262. Lord Pembr. Part I. Tab. 33. No. 59.

(5) Lord Pembr. Part IV. Tab. 1.

‘ workmen and tools, after they had once possessed themselves, upon their entrance into Gaul, of the city of Treves, where the Romans had a mint, as well as at Lyons and at Arles. Agathias, who wrote at the beginning of this first race, [the Merovingian line of the French kings] gives some countenance to this remark, when he says that the Franks borrowed many things from the Romans (1).’ In all probability it would be a century, perhaps two, before the Saxons attempted to coin. The new-comers had, doubtless, enough to do, for some time, in subduing their late friends, but now enemies, the Britons; in establishing themselves in their acquisitions and conquests, and the like important employments; and there was the less occasion for them to turn their thoughts upon a mint, as there was some specie still remaining in the island, and probably sufficient for the little use they had for it at first. But let us in the next place contemplate matters of fact in these times, to see how they correspond with this representation. Ethelbert, king of Kent, who was upon the throne A. 596, when Augustine the monk arrived there, presented him with *no money* that we hear of, and probably was himself possessed of very little, as the royal revenues were then paid in a very different form. And we are told that Oswald, king of Northumberland, who began his reign A. 634, had so little specie, that he ordered a silver dish to be broken into pieces and distributed in alms to the poor (2). Should we, as is most natural, appeal in the next place to the coins, we have not a single penny older than Æthelweard king of Wessex, who acceded A. 727 or 728. Pretensions indeed run higher, and many of our Antiquaries are impressed with a different opinion, Mr. Speed, Mr. Walker, Sir A. Fountaine, Mr. Thwaites, and Mr. Thoresby; nay, one gentleman in conversation very confidently averred he had a penny of Hengist; what pity it was, he had not another of Horsa, to keep it company! But notwithstanding the dead weight of all this authority, our present Saxon series commences no sooner than Æthelweard of Wessex. The coins that claim a higher date, are one of Aldulf, which we have totally discarded (3); a

(1) M. LeBlanc, p. 38. (2) Bede, p. 109. (3) See coins of Archbp. Plegmund.

penny of St. Edwin of Northumberland reduced to the age of another saint, Edward the Confessor (1); two which Speed bestows on the East-Saxons Sighard and Offa; the former of whom died A. 694, and the latter A. 709; and a fifth which some are disposed to confer upon Ælfred king of Northumberland, who departed this life A. 705 (2). Now as to the three last, Sighard's piece belongs either to Sigeferth, who slew himself A. 961 (3), or, as I rather think, to St. Edmundsbury (4). Offa was not king of Essex but of Mercia, for Lulla, or Lul, was a mint-master of the Mercian Offa, and of Coenulf his successor (5). And Ælfred's penny was not the property of the king of Northumberland, as will be shewn in a particular dissertation hereunto annexed, but of Ælfred the Great.

Now when these pieces are partly rejected, and partly reduced to their just and proper dates, we may reasonably allege and insist, that nobody has yet seen any money of those illustrious princes of the western kingdom, Keaulin, Cedwalla, nor even of Ina, the predecessor of Æthelweard. The late lord Rolle, of Stevenston, was so obliging as to make very strict enquiry, at my request, after the coins of Ina, in the western parts, but without success. I don't mean, however, to assert, that no Saxon money was coined before A.D. 728, all I contend for being, that the Saxons did not strike money till long after their arrival here, and that the oldest penny *now extant* does not exceed that date. Time may perhaps produce something hereafter more venerable and antique, but at present this series rises no higher. An eminent Antiquary indeed, in a late elegant and elaborate performance, has declared, very unfavourable to the system and notion here advanced, ‘Nummorum aliquod genus, tum ante, tum post eorum in Britanniam appulsum, Saxones et Angli haberent oportet.’ However, he has afterwards qualified his assertion, by saying, ‘Sin objiciat nonnemo gentes istas barbaras aliena moneta, non propria,

(1) See coins of archbishop Plegmund; and the 2d of the annexed dissertations.

(2) I mention not here the penny of Eanred, which in Speed, by the mistake I suppose of the Printer, is giyen to Redowald, who ascended the throne of East Anglia A. 599.

(3) Chron. Sax.

(4) See coins of St. Edmundsbury, below.

(5) Sir Andrew Fountaine, IX. No. 8. IV. No. 1.

' usos esse, vel viliora metalla iis pro nummis fuisse; nil habeo
 ' quod respondeam; in re obscurissima liberum esto unicuique
 ' judicium (1),' which very nearly approaches to our sentiments,
 that what money the Saxons had at first, was not of their own,
 but of foreign fabrication. I assume then,

That from the time of Æthelweard, the West Saxon heptarchy, who acceded A. 727 or 728, the Saxons coined money, but how long they did it before is yet uncertain, perhaps not more than a century; Ethelbert of Kent took the crown A. 560, and Augustine the monk arrived in his reign, A. 596, but at that juncture the monarch does not appear to have had any money; Augustine, however, and his companions, probably brought some pieces with them from Rome. Yet I cannot think these prelates, for such they afterwards became, were instrumental in teaching the art of coinage, as they were employed in affairs of totally a different nature.

The origine of the mint then amongst the Saxons is enveloped in obscurity, *Caput inter nubila condit*, just as the *initia* of many other noble arts and inventions are. Whence this people took it up, whether from the Roman model, as Mr. Clarke contends, or from elsewhere, as others think, is a point I am not here concerned with: This, however, seems probable, that when the *reguli* of the heptarchy first begun it, they reserved the practice entirely to themselves, and continued to do so till the reign of king Offa, under whose auspices, and during the distractions of the Kentish kingdom, archbishop Athelard, as was before stated, either voluntarily and of himself assumed the privilege of coining, or had a grant and license for that purpose from Offa.

Now Wulfred, Athelard's successor, was even under less controul than he had been, in respect of his immediate sovereign; for Baldred, his prince, had retired, after he had been vanquished by Egbert the West Saxon, into Mercia (2). He therefore took a large stride, and fairly coined money in his own right, taking not the least notice of his lawful prince, but placing his own name and effigies upon it; which certainly was going as far as majesty itself could do. The case seems to

who died AD 709.

(1) Wise, Numm. Bodl. Catalog. p. 228.

(2) Rapin, p. 63.

have been, that the predominant power of Kenulph king of Mercia had reduced the Kentish kingdom to the last extremity, and if Cuthred and Baldred, kings of Kent, coined money afterwards, as in fact they did, it was by the connivance of Kenulf, whose tributaries they were. Wulfred, we may imagine, was at this juncture very great and powerful, as, by the pains and dexterity of his predecessor, the archbishoprick of Lichfield had been reunited to his church. He might think himself upon a *par* with petty sovereigns, who were as much, and perhaps more, dependant on the will of others as himself; for why? he had the Pope to support him; and therefore might not think it improper, however not unpardonable, to place his effigies on the coin, in the manner they did. 'Tis true, one cannot commend his conduct, which appears to have been rash and presumptuous, and was even disproved soon after, as we shall see in the sequel; and yet it would be uncandid to censure him severely for it, as his error, his crime, in encroaching on the prerogative royal, seems to be greatly extenuated by the particular circumstances, and the turbulency of the times.

In this state matters seem to have continued till archbishop Plegmund's time, who was advanced to the pall A. 889, and appears for some reasons, now not known, perhaps on receiving some check from his prince, Edward the Elder, who at this season was become powerful, and very attentive to the interior police of the kingdom, to have omitted putting his effigies on his specie; but to have persisted, nevertheless, in striking money in his own name, and in his own right, for he never takes the least notice of his sovereigns, Ælfred and Edward, on his coins. But now if Plegmund was restrained by his sovereign from placing his bust on his coins, we cannot expect to behold the bust of any other prelate on the metropolitical specie, but those of Wulfred and of Ceolnoth; 'tis certain that at present we don't see any other.

May we not conclude from hence, to wit, from the absence of Plegmund's effigies on his coins, that our *Incera Numismata* must necessarily be older than his time? May not also the restraint upon Plegmund in regard of his effigies, supposing it to be fact, be construed as a previous and preparative step towards

towards the grand revolution brought about in the next reign?

These assertions and conjectures, call them as you will, are, I confess, bold and hazardous enough, considering the few *data* we have to proceed upon; and certainly it were much to be wished we had a greater number of pennies published of every pontif, either to falsify or confirm them. As it is, I don't see how one can determine and speak otherwise than as above. Time perhaps may instruct us better, by making new and further discoveries. I say this, to make gentlemen collectors more alert, assiduous and inquisitive.

In the next reign, which was that of the imperial Athelstan, who was absolutely governor of all England, and assumed the stile and title of *Totius Britanniae Rex*, and even placed it upon his money (1). The coinage of the Saxon kingdom underwent, very early, a most material and essential regulation. This great prince, who acceded A. 925, took the prerogative of coining money entirely into his own hands, and actually put an end to all the foregoing innovations, hurtful to the state, and injurious to the dignity of his crown.

'Tis observable, in confirmation of what is here alleged, that no metropolitical coin has ever been seen, with an archbishop's name or effigies, posterior to the reign of this prince, in the Saxon times.

But as Athelstan's regulation of the year 928 (2), here alluded to, is so decisive in the matter, and so very important, it may be proper to introduce it here at length, in Dr. Wilkins's Latin version (3), accompanied with some proper reflections by way of commentary.

- ‘ Statuimus ut una moneta sit per omnem regis ditionem,
- ‘ et nemo monetam cudat extra portam.
- ‘ In Cantuaria sint vii monetarii; quatuor Regis, duo Epis-
- ‘ copi, et unus Abbatis.
- ‘ In Roffensi Civitate tres, duo Regis, et unus Episcopi.
- ‘ Londini viii.
- ‘ Wintoniae vi.

(1) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. II. Thoresby, Mus. p. 345;

(2) Wilkins, Concilia, I. p. 205.

(3) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 59. or his Concilia, I. p. 206.

- In Lewisio ii.
- In urbe Hastings (1) unus
- Alius Cicestræ (2).
- Hamtoniæ duo (3).
- Werhamiæ ii (4).
- Duo Exoniæ.
- ii Schafteburie (5).
- Alias in aliis Castellis unus (6)."

Much inconvenience, no doubt, had been found, from suffering different coins to pass amongst the king's subjects. They were not only dissimilar, but often of doubtful authority, and consequently liable to be refused in payments; they might be of a base alloy, or at least of a suspicious goodness and purity, or scandalously deficient in weight; upon which considerations this wise king ordains here, that there should be but *one uniform* species of coin current in his dominions, to the utter exclusion of the prelates from coining any money of their own, or in their own right, as aforetime had been done, to the great diminution of his crown and dignity. This was an abridgment of usage, 'tis true, in respect of the prelates, but no injustice; it was only restoring matters to their primitive state, and therefore they could not in reason, and probably did not, object to it. They were not deprived by this ordinance of the privilege of striking money ministerially, by the king's authority, and for his use and service, as is evident from what follows in the regulation, but only were debarred from doing it for themselves, and in their own names. The profits of the mints were considerable, and these they were permitted still to enjoy, but as Sir Matthew Hales represents it, 'had neither the de nomination, stamp, nor alloy (7).'

This now sufficiently accounts for the non-appearance of any coins with an archiepiscopal effigy, after the reign of king Athelstan; and to go one step further, may we not pronounce, that none of the kind will ever be found hereafter? And may

(1) Haftingecestra. Brompton, inter X Script. Col. 843, et puto recte.

(2, 3, 4) These places are all omitted in Brompton.

(5) Schaftebury. Brompton. quod rectius.

(6) Et in aliis Burgis. Brompton adds.

(7) Sir Matthew Hales, Sheriffs Accounts.

we not infer, from the premises, that no coins with an archiepiscopal effigies are to be expected, but of Wulfred, Ceolnoth, and Athelred (1), perhaps of Plegmund? in which short list Fleogild and Suired, or Syred, are omitted, on account of their dying so soon after their election; and lastly, that if any coins of Athelm and Wlhelm, the successors of Plegmund, should ever make their appearance, they will not exhibit the portraits, but the names only, of those prelates? These are no more than reasonable presumptions; especially as we are certain, that our primates never recovered their claim to the coining of money for themselves and with their own effigies; this ordinance of Athelstan, enjoining an uniformity of specie throughout the kingdom, being renew'd by king Edgar (2), by the council of Aenham, A. 1009, in the reign of king Aethelred (3), and by king Cnut (4). So in the *Concordia* or agreement between king Stephen and Henry duke of Normandy, afterwards king Henry II. A. 1153, it was stipulated, ‘Et publica moneta ‘una et eadem erit in regno ex argento percussa (5).’ And Hoveden writes of Henry II. that in the second year of his reign, ‘Novam fecit monetam quæ sola recepta erat, et accepta in regno (6).’ I should suppose, to note this by the way, that the abbots of St. Augustine had, in like manner, their proper coins, as well as the archbishops, and probably with their own effigies, before the year 928; I am not aware, indeed, that any such pennies of theirs have yet been discovered (7); however, one may venture to foretel, that, if any should hereafter be found, they will prove to be coins of abbots older than that date, and probably older than the time of archbishop Plegmund.

The next seasonable and judicious regulation in this law, is the king’s prohibition, that no one should coin money *butan portæ*, which the author, whom he calls Brompton, renders *extra portum* (8); but Dr. Wilkins gives it *extra portam*, and Mr. Lambarde, followed by Mr. Selden (9), *extra oppidum*, which, I

(1) None of his money has yet appeared. (2) Wilkins, *Concilia*, p. 289.

(3) Legg. Edgar, cap. 8. (4) Legg. Canuti, cap. 8.

(5) Matth. Paris, p. 86. (6) Rog. Hoveden, p. 491.

(7) See *Nunism. incerta*, No. 1.

(8) Joh. Brompton, inter x Script. Col. 843. and again, Col. 899.

(9) Selden, *Spicileg. ad Eadmer.* p. 218.

imagine, comes in effect to the same (1). The design of this prohibition was, as I take it, to prevent the frauds and mal-practices, which but too often were committed in those mints that were occupied in private and obscure places. To these rogueries the ordinance of Ethelred II. seems to refer, where he says, ‘*γ þa myneteras þe inne yuda pýncēd oððe elleſ þær þa bion heora feoneſ ſcylðig, &c.*’ which is translated by Dr. Wilkins, ‘*Et monetarii qui in ligno operantur, vel alicubi aliter, fint vitæ suæ rei (2);*’ but surely it ought rather to be rendered, *qui in Sylva operantur*, for the words *oððe elleſ þær, vel alicubi*, seem to shew, that the legislator is speaking of *place*, and not of materials; and so Brompton, in that obscure paſſage, Col. 898, has it, ‘*Et eos eciam qui conos (3) faciunt in occultis.*’ And again, ‘*Et constituerunt quod monetarii manum perdant et ponatur super ipsius monetæ fabricam, et qui in nemoribus vel alibi similibus [f. locis] fabricant, vitæ suæ culpatiles sint, &c.*’ implying, that knavish and clandestine doings were most common in those retired and secret abodes. The abbot of St. Augustine, probably, before this prohibition, struck his money somewhere within the precincts of his monastery, but from thenceforward was obliged to keep his office within the walls of the city of Canterbury; for abbot Silvester is plainly said to have had his mint *in Civitate Cantuariæ* (4), in consequence, no doubt, of this regulation of Athelstan’s; and therefore when Mr. Thoresby suggests, that the archbishop of York coined his money, after the time of our regulation, in some private apartment of the cathedral itself (5); and Mr. Thwaites says expressly, his coin was *in Ecclesia Eboracensi percussa* (6); they appear to me to be mistaken; and ’tis remarkable, that some of these York coins, called Peter-Pence, have EBORACE CIV, clearly denoting the city, and not the church. And in an half groat, struck in the reign of king Henry VII, by this archbishop, you have CIVITAS EBORACI (7).

A third observation on Athelstan’s ordinance must be, that the archbishop is here allowed to have two workmen; and so

(1) See Wise, Numm. Bodl. p. 229. (2) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 118.

(3) Vide infra in Annot. ad p. 86.

(4) Thorne, Col. 1816.

(5) Thoresby, Mus. p. 341.

(6) Thwaites, Notæ ad Anglo-Sax. Nummos. Oxon. 1708.

(7) Thoresby, Mus. No. 22. Folkes, p. 16. & Pl. 6.

it occurs again in Dr. Wilkins's edition of the Councils (1), where it is likewise said, there were to be seven minters at Canterbury, four for the king, two for the archbishop, and one for the abbot, meaning the abbot of St. Augustine. But now in Brompton's copy of this ordinance, 'tis eight minters; four for the king, three for the archbishop, and one for the abbot (2); and this I conceive to be the truth, as the archbishops were permitted, both in the reign of Richard I and of king John, to have three mints (3); and that the archbishop of York claimed to have three mints (4), to be upon the same footing, as we may suppose, with the primate of Canterbury, unless he had an eye to the mint his predecessor wrought at Lincoln (5). It does not appear, that any other subjects, but the archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot of St. Augustine, and the bishop of Rochester, were permitted at this time to occupy mints. The ordinance is silent as to every body else, the other mints being, as I take it, all regal ones. The indulgence seems to have been continued to them, on account of their having enjoyed it immemorially, and therefore were not to be *totally* divested of their rights. This accords with what was remarked above on Mr. Selden's suggestions, as likewise with facts and the appearance of things, no one having ever seen a single penny fabricated by the hand of a subject after this date, except the archbishop of York and the abbot of St. Edmundsbury, whose cases shall be reported and accounted for in the sequel.

Fourthly, the ordinance, passed so early in the king's reign as the year 928, when he acceded but A. 925, concerns only the state and kingdom of Wessex, though no doubt the other kingdoms, as fast as they were subdued, or submitted themselves, would be obliged to conform to this regulation of the king's, as they did to the rest. 'Tis certain, that no place is mentioned in this law but what lay within the bounds of what at the time was the West Saxon kingdom, Kent and Sussex, being now part and parcel thereof. The cities and towns lie all in the south of England, and, except London, south of the

(1) Wilkins Concilia, I. p. 206. (2) Brompton, Col. 843.

(3) Pat. Reg. Joh. in Wilkins Legg. A—Sax. p. 355. See below, p. 88.

(4) Nicholson, Hist. Libr. p. 263. (5) See below, p. 67.

river Thames. London had been formerly given to Athelstan's father (1), and so had descended to him, but all the other parts of the island were as yet independent of him. He coined money indeed afterwards, at Leicester, Derby, York, and elsewhere, without the limits of Wessex, but not, I presume, till after A. 928; wherefore when Mr. Somner says Athelstan appointed mints at this time *throughout the kingdom* (2), he must be understood to mean the kingdom of Wessex. However, one may in a good measure judge from this ordinance, of the number of mints in these ages, which must have been very numerous, since it is added in the last clause, *Alias in aliis Castellis unus*; or, as Brompton has it, *alias in aliis Castellis unus et in aliis burgis*, we may judge something also of the proportion in which they were distributed over the king's dominions; and lastly, of the quality of the minters, who, as they were so large a body, all taken together, could not be persons of high rank: But of this more hereafter.

These reflections and observations may account for the omission of York, St. Edmundsbury, and Lincoln, in the king's regulation, where yet, we are sure, certain prelatical coins were minted in the Saxon times. On these it may be proper to enlarge a little. York was in the hands of the Danes when the law was enacted; for Athelstan did not become perfect master of that city till A. 937 (3), wherefore it could not be included in the ordinance, or even mentioned there. But as soon as it fell into his hands, it became no doubt subject to his laws and ordinances, and this amongst the rest; wherefore whatever the Northumbrian primates had done before, from this time forward they would be obliged to desist from striking money for themselves, and in their own right, as their brother primates of the south were. Mr. Drake, in the *Eboracum*, has collected together in one plate (4), all the coins which he could reasonably imagine were minted at York; of these, though they are indeed numerous, not above one or two, if you exclude the Peter-Pence, can be deemed with any degree of certainty to be prelatical, viz. No. 7 and 8, which are both

(1) Rapin, p. 98. (2) Somner, *Antiq. Canterb.* p. 65.

(3) Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 79. (4) Drake, *Eboracum*, in Append. p. civ.

coins of Athelstan, and as they present us with the king's name, as well as for other reasons, must have been coined after the ordinance. In the judgment of our antiquaries, there is a rude representation of the cathedral on their reverses (1), from whence one may collect they issued from the archbishop's mint, though they were coined for the king, whose name they bear, and probably somewhere in the city. In the first of the coins in question, + *ÆDELSTAN REX.* Reverse, PVF7819 (2). Mr. Thoresby says the building is reversed by the engraver's mistake (3), but this does not appear so to me, since the building exactly resembles that on No. 8. In the reverse of No. 8, coined by Regnard, Sir Andrew Fountaine finds the word *Eboraca* (4), the name of the city of York; but in Mr. Thoresby's type in Camden, and it was his own coin, it is rather *EBRAC* ĀL, that is, EBRACensis AClesia, as, according to Mr. Thoresby, *Ecclesia* was frequently written in the barbarous ages (5). I think it probable, however, that these primates continued striking money throughout the Saxon times, witness the Peter-Pence, the pennies of Eric (6), and that we are assured they were in possession of their mints in the Conqueror's reign (7). The *Sancti Petri Moneta*, of which there are not less than eight in Mr. Drake's plate (8), may all be fairly presumed (Mr. Wise is of the same opinion) (9), to have flowed from thence (10), as the king's own workmen had no connection or concern with St. Peter, as the name of this

(1) Sir A. Fountaine, ad Tab. II. p. 171.

(2) Hence Thwaites deduces, very improbably, the name of Wolsey.

(3) Thoresby in Camd. Col. CLXXXII.

(4) And so we have it in Mr. Drake's *Eboracum*, p. ciii.

(5) Thoresby in Camd. Col. CLXXXIX. and in Mus. p. 345. also Mr. Thwaites, p. 3.

(6) See below, p. 54. (7) See below, p. 85.

(8) Another occurs in Numism. Pembroch. Part. 4. Tab. 2.

(9) Wise, Numm. Bodl. p. 230.

(10) Some have formerly imagined the *Sancti Petri moneta* were the Peter-Pence paid to the Pope. But this notion is solidly confuted by Mr. Drake in the *Eboracum*, p. cv. He acknowledges, p. cvi, they have been sometimes called by that name, and probably they were, just as a noted stone-quarry at Ledstone, in Yorkshire, is called *Peter-Post*, because York minster, dedicated to St. Peter, was built with the stone hewn out of it. Thoresby, Duc. Leod. p. 239. The Rome-scot was called Peter-Pence, because it was paid on the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula. Edgar's Laws, p. 77. Thoresby, Mus. p. 340. Rapin, p. 54. See also Sir A. Fountaine, p. 181.

apostle appears to be characteristic of this see, and as upon three of them, No. 39, 40, and 45, the cathedral is attempted to be expressed, though in a manner even more uncouth and clumsy than that on No. 7 and 8 of Athelstan's coins above. I esteem them to be all coins posterior to Athelstan's regulation, and perhaps minted not long before the Norman Conquest. To say a word on the sword that appears on many of these pennies, Mr. Thwaites was so much at a loss about it, that he puts the question, 'An gladius in tribus nummis referatur ad 'D. Paulum, D. Petri αγαπητον' Αδελφον?' And in fact, this instrument is generally the *insigne* or emblem of St. Paul, and not of St. Peter, as this last did not die by a sword, but was crucified with his head downwards. The Keys are commonly the proper badge of St. Peter, and are accordingly often placed on the York coins, in later ages (1). The apostle himself is also frequently called by the name of *Claviger* (2). St. Paul, I am persuaded nevertheless, has no connection or concern with these coins: How then, you will say, comes the sword there? Mr. Thoresby thinks it was to distinguish the monies of the present archbishop from those of his predecessors. But perhaps it may be an allusion to those prophetic words of our Saviour to this apostle, on his wounding one of the servants of the high priest, *They that take the sword shall perish with the sword*, Matth. xxvi. 52. for it appears from John xviii. 10. that Peter was the person that inflicted the wound; and it is possible that in these very illiterate ages, the text might be understood of St. Peter personally and according to the letter, though all that was meant was, that the death of such persons should be violent, the sword, in a common way, being an instrument of violence; vide Schotti Adagia (3). But I rather think this device refers to the *power of the sword*, supposed in these times to have been conferred on St. Peter, and his successors, the Popes of Rome, from whence we hear so much of the sword of St. Peter (4). Let the learned judge.

(1) Tables of the Antiquarian Society. (2) Du Fresne, Gloss. in v. *Claviger*.

(3) But see a different interpretation in Grotius, who takes it not generally, but applies it to the case of our Saviour and the Jews.

(4) Lord Lyttelton's Life of K. Hen. II. Vol. IV. p. 235. 313.

There are two coins in Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. VIII. which he gives to Eric, whom he represents as king of the East Angles, and successor of Guthrum; but as there is a sword across the field of the obverse, exactly after the manner of these Peter-Pence, we ought with more reason to turn our eyes upon Eric the successor of Anlaf in the Northumbrian kingdom (1). But I am of opinion myself, that this being the archiepiscopal device of the primates of York, these two pieces are really prelatical coins, minted by the archbishop for this king Eric. Mr. Selden observes, that after Athelstan's time, no money was coined without the king's name or effigies: ‘Neque ullum postmodum *sine principis effigie aut nomine numerum percussum, adjecto interdum five comitis provincialis,* five urbis aut oppidi domini five cuforis etiam nomine (2).’ This, however, is not strictly true, for the *Sancti Petri moneta*, the piece of archbishop Wulston (3), the pennies of St. Edmunsbury, and the Lincoln coin, to be considered below, don't present us either with the king's effigies or his name: Neither do we meet with the earl's name, or the names of lords of cities and towns expressed upon these later Saxon coins, as he suggests, but only the names of the mint-masters, or, if a prelatical piece, with some device denoting that, The case with the earls and barons in king Stephen's time, who was obliged, for political reasons, to indulge the nobility in their humours, and to connive at their encroachments on the regality, was different from this, and has nothing to do with the practice of the Saxon times. To have done with these Peter-Pennies, as they were called, they were the king's money, though stricken by the archbishops of York.

There are two other York, and, as we apprehend, prelatical coins, which, though they appear not in Mr. Drake's plate, are intituled to some notice on this occasion. 'Tis true, I formerly delivered my sentiments on both these curious coins in the *Series of Dissertations on some elegant and very valuable Anglo-Saxon Remains* (4), and they were not disapproved, in regard to one of them at least, by a very able and competent judge in

(1) Drake, Eborac. p. 80. (2) Selden, in Spicileg. ad Eadmer.

(3) See next paragraph.

(4) See the Letters there, No. 1 and 5, and No. 2.

these matters, the reverend and learned Mr. Clarke, of Buxted (1); but this need not prevent me from repeating the substance of what was then advanced, since it is so *a propos* to the subject in hand. It was then decided, upon the maturest consideration, that the first of these coins, which is of gold, a very celebrated piece, and of which there is a type in the above *Series of Dissertations*, as well as in *Numism. Comitis Pembroch.* Part IV. Tab. 2. (2), belonged to Vigmund, the 12th archbishop of York, who sat from the year 831 to A.D. 854. There is not the least doubt but the obverse exhibits the effigies of an archbishop; the figure with a cap embroidered on the fillet, and the robes, so perfectly resembling those of the primates of Canterbury, as displayed here in our plate. I read it accordingly VIEMVND ARCEP. (3). The coin, you observe, was minted long before king Athelstan's regulation, and consequently when the primates of York might enjoy the power of coining in as ample a manner as the primates of Canterbury did, and of which they were at length deprived by this ordinance of king Athelstan. So that the piece is not only per-consistent with what we have delivered above concerning the rise and progress of the prelatical practices, in respect of their mints, but also greatly confirms it. The other, which is a silver coin of Mr. John White's, belongs, as I conjectured, to Wulston, archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester, who acceded to both sees, A. 1002, and died A. 1023. The type, which may be seen in the *Series of Dissertations*, is evidently in the manner of king Ethelred II. who died A. 1016; and 'tis observable, that being struck long after the promulgation of king Athelstan's law, it exhibits not the bust or portrait of this pluralist, but only the two saints of his churches, St. Peter and St. Mary, to shew it to be a prelatical, and not a regal coin, though minted for the king, and according to his regulation. The prelate's name, indeed, occurs on the obverse, which is uncommon, after the time of our ordinance, but that is because the figures of the saints having neither names nor emblems to denote who they were, the authority of the coin would have

(1) Mr. Clarke's Connex. of Rom. Sax. and Engl. Coins, p. 380. et alibi.

(2) As also in Mr. Wise.

(3) For this abbreviation, see Ceolnoth's coins, No. 1.

been

been lost, had the prelate's name been absent, at too great an uncertainty. This coin is exceedingly select and curious, as most of Mr. White's coins are.

I proceed now on the case of St. Edmundsbury, which will be dispatched in fewer words. We have four coins in Sir A. Fountaine's VIth plate from this place, but it could not be noticed as a place of coinage in king Athelstan's regulation, since it was then but an inconsiderable, though an ancient village; the monastery there, and the town, which depended upon the monastery, not arriving at any great degree of opulence till the reign of king Cnut, or A. D. 1020 (1). And in fact, these coins all carry a modern appearance, so as to be thought, and with reason, to have been minted after that date. They shew neither the abbot's name, nor his *effigies*, and were coined consequently for the king, and by his authority alone. What is more decisive, the abbot of St. Edmundsbury had not the privilege of working a mint till the Confessor's reign, who *concessit etiam dicto Edmundo monetarium five cuneum infra Bury* (2). And whereas Mr. Thwaites, and I may add Mr. Thoresby (3), incline to think the last of these coins to be an *amulet* rather than a coin, on account of the inscription IOMA Monetarius ME FECIT, I differ from them entirely, since it was both coined by a mint-master, and has as much the manner and cast of a coin as any one of the St. Edmundsbury pennies. Neither do I think the insinuation of Sir A. Fountaine, concerning these four coins from St. Edmundsbury, one jot more plausible; he opines they were coined by the direction of some of our kings, *qui erat ejusdem five nominis five prosapiae*, whereas they were probably minted in the Confessor's reign, who did not descend from St. Edmund, and according to the mere fancy of the abbot or his workman (4). Sir Andrew again, as likewise Mr. Walker, suspects the 57th of Eadweard may represent the Great Church at St. Edmundsbury (5), but

(1) Bishop Tanner's Notitia, p. 504. Archd. Battely, Antiq. S. Edmundi Burgi, p. 32.

(2) Spelm. Gloss. v. Cuneus. Vide omnino J. Battely Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 46.

(3) Thoresby, in Camd. Tab. IV.

(4) Mr. Wise, I observe, is of the same opinion; Numm. Bodl. p. 230.

(5) This piece will be mentioned again below.

as the piece belongs to Edward the Elder, the great church of the abbey was not then erected; but to do Sir Andrew justice, he lays no stress on this conjecture.

We have already attempted to explain and appropriate several of Sir A. Fountaine's *Numismata incerta*, and I hope with success; and here it is proposed to try our fortune on another, imagining No. 2. of those pieces may possibly prove to be a coin from this abbey. SC EADI with α in the center. Reverse, CIRYI NO, with a cross in the field. It was Mr. Thoresby's coin, who, in his Museum (1), talks of a Saint *Eada* that had been a general, but was sainted for preferring a monastery before a throne. 'The central α ', he says, 'denotes the piece coined by king \AA lfred in honour of St. Eada; reverse, CIRYL MO_neta, or c_ync_yceat, church-money: See the 54th Canon of K. Edgar, and Spelman's Councils.' But surely, to be as brief as I can, the last stroke in EADI, must be part of M, and the Saint's name consequently Eadmund. The α in the field signifies Angliæ, or Anglorum Rex, as usual on the St. Edmundsbury coins; and indeed we know of no connection king \AA lfred had with this *Eada*, for his patron saint was St. Cuthbert (2). The reverse gives us the minter's name; the same, I presume, as *Siric* in the Saxon Chronicle, and elsewhere (3). And it is ridiculous to talk of *church-money*, which, no doubt, was always paid in the current coin of the country, and not in money coined for that particular purpose: This Mr. Thoresby must admit upon his own principles delivered in regard of the Peter-Pence (4); and see what is said on the subject of tribute-money in the essay on *the Coins of Cunobelin* (5).

Now I am in a mood of hariolation, what if that blundered coin given to Sycfred, in Sir A. Fountaine's IXth Table, and engraved in Camd. Tab. I. should prove a penny emitted by this abbot? It certainly has much of the air and fashion of the St. Edmundsbury specie; and whereas our Tabulists are puzzled to find out the owner, one crying, 'Attinet ad *Sycfredum seu Sigeberatum*', king of Wessex, the successor of Cuthred (6), as

(1) Thoresby, Museum, p. 342. (2) Sir A. Fountaine, p. 169.

(3) St. Cyriac is called St. Syriac. Tanner, Notitia, p. 70.

(4) Thoresby, Mus. p. 340. (5) Essay on Coins of Cunobelin, p. 24. seq.

(6) Sir A. Fountaine.

if these were both names of the same person, which does not appear from the Saxon Chronicles, where he is invariably called Sigeber; and another esteeming him a king of the East Saxons, named also Suuefred, and denominated *Sigfrid the Good* (1), who yet is called Sigeber by William of Malmesbury (2). Whereas, I say, the Tabulists vary in this manner, and are at a loss for the proprietor, I incline to be of opinion, that the piece came from St. Edmundsbury. The inscription, + ω YCFRDHI'I, seems to be intended SCI EADMVI, it being evident, from the reverse, that the minter was a most wretched bungler.

We are now arrived at the city of Lincoln, which, without all dispute, is a very ancient place and a Roman colony. Dr. Gale rejoices, in his Commentary on the *Itinerary*, that the anonymous geographer of *Ravenna* happened so to describe it : ‘ Anonymus *Ravennas* habet expressè *Lindum Colonia*, hoc uno vocabulo adjecto, quantum lucis affudit ille historiæ antiquæ ? ’ Magnas profectò gratias ei debemus quod tandem Subscriptiōnem Concilii *Arelatensis* intelligamus *Adelphius Episcopus de Civitate Colonia Londi*, haud dubiè pro *Colonia Lindi*. Hoc ipsum Beda pœnè vidit cum hanc urbem Lindi—collina nominaret (3).’ Richard of Cirencester, published by Mr. Charles Bertram, of Copenhagen, A. 1757, has since fully confirmed this, as both in his map, and also p. 26. 36, and 37, of his book, he calls it a *Colony*; and it accords well with bishop Stillingfleet’s idea of one British bishop’s attending the Council of *Arles*, from each province of the island (4); for as Lincoln was in the Flavian province, Adelphius probably came from thence. This now affords us a plain etymology of the name of this city, which in later ages, by having the final N frequently dropped, was greatly obscured, as in the coin I am going to produce : So we have *LICOLENSIS* in the monumental inscription of William Deincourt (5), who died in the reign of William Rufus. And this gentle noun is commonly found in

(1) Walker in *Camden*. (2) Gul. Malmesb. p. 35.

(3) Gale ad *Antonin. Itin.* p. 96.

(4) Stillingfleet, *Antiq. of Brit. Churches*, p. 74. seq.

(5) Hearne, *Præf. ad Thom. Sprott.*

the same form in the monkish historians (1). Hence also Lin-colla and Lincol, in the Saxon Chronicle (2), and Lincolefire in Henry of Huntingdon (3). The Normans, in their corruption of the name into *Nichol* (4), omitted likewise the final N; but the 7th coin of king Cnut (5), and the 10th of Harold (6), have it rightly *Lincoln*. In the Saxon ages, of which we are here speaking, Lincoln was deemed a *City*, and is still stiled so on our penny, engraved in the Pembrochian Tables (7). The piece undoubtedly came from some mint at Lincoln, and probably from an ecclesiastical one, as Mr. Wise also thinks (8), who has also engraved it in his 17th plate. The coin is extremely curious, but attended with some difficulty, from which, however, we shall endeavour to extricate ourselves in the best manner we can. The obverse has a sword across the area, like those on the *Sancti Petri moneta*, with this inscription, SCI MARTI. The reverse has a device of a very singular nature, viz. one cross within another, in this form,  and the inscription is, LINCOLIA (9) CIVT. If the city of Lincoln was not at this time so large a place as at present, there is room for us, nevertheless, to include it under those general concluding words of Athelstan's regulation, *alias in aliis Castellis unus*; for we know that money was coined before the Norman Conquest at a great number of places not mentioned in that regulation, Nottingham (10), Derby, &c. The translation of the fee after the Conquest, from Dorchester to Lincoln, shews plainly that this latter place was then of good estimation; for by the synodical constitution, in virtue of which that removal was made, the

(1) Hen. Hunt. p. 384. Contin. Flor. Vig. p. 660.

(2) Chron. Sax. p. 28. and 241.

(3) Hen. Hunt. p. 298. but elsewhere, *Lincolnfire*.

(4) Camden, Brit. Col. 563, 564, N and L being letters of the same organ, are easily counterchanged. See Kuhnus ad Ælian, V. H. XII. 42. and Menage Origines de la Langue Franc. p. xxi. Edit. 1650.

(5) Sir A. Fount. Tab. IV. (6) Ibid. Tab. VIII.

(7) Numism. Pembroch. Part IV. Tab. 2. there was formerly another in the Cotton Library, and now, I presume in the Brit. Museum.

(8) Wise, Numm. Bodl. p. 230. (9) So Hen. Hunt. p. 299.

(10) There were two mints here at the time of making Domesday Survey. Thoroton, p. 488.

fees were to be transferred from lesser places to greater towns and cities; and John Brompton testifies, that Lincoln was *Civitas Clarissima* (1) in the Conqueror's reign, as Giraldus Cambrensis terms it, *Urbs præclara* (2); see also Camden, Col. 564. But still I do not take this to have been the case, i. e. that it was included in those general words of Athelstan's ordinance, being rather inclined to believe, that at the time of king Athelstan's regulation, Lindsey, of which Lincoln was the southern boundary inclusively, was a part of the vast kingdom of Northumberland, and consequently was in subjection to the Danes, and if so, king Athelstan's ordinance could not extend to it, nor include it. What makes the greatest difficulty in respect of the coin in question, is, first, that an ecclesiastical coin should be struck at Lincoln before the Norman Conquest, as this unquestionably was; when the see was at Dorchester, and not there; and, 2dly, to account for the name of the saint, St. Martin. We must try to clear these points, and shall attempt them both together. Lindsey, I am of opinion, was at this time, which was not long before the conquest, part of the see of York; for Simeon of Durham tells us, that after the Conquest, when Remigius, who had erected the new cathedral at Lincoln, wanted to consecrate it, Thomas, archbishop of York, opposed him, alleging it was in his diocese, 'Affirmans eam in sua parochia (3) esse constructam (4)', and even lodging an appeal (5). And so Brompton writes, that on occasion of Remigius's building his church there, 'Provinciam tamen Lyndeseye Archiepiscopus Eboracensis ex antiqua temporum serie vendicabat (6).' Whether his claim was well founded may be doubted, because the author informs us, 'Remigius vero Petitionem ejus sine Calumpniam (7) minime timens, opus incepit non segniter peregit (8).' And, if

(1) Brompton inter x Script. Col. 983.

(2) Giraldus Cambr. in Wharton's Angl. Sacr. II. p. 411.

(3) *Parochia* here means *Diocese*.

(4) Simeon Dunelm. inter x Script. Col. 217. See also Col. 490. and M. Paris, p. 16. Girald. Cambr. in Whartoni Angl. Sacr. II. p. 411. 415. 417.

(5) M. Paris, p. 16.

(6) Brompton, inter x Script. Col. 983. also M. Paris, p. 12. Br. Willis, II. p. 45. (7) *Calumpnia*, here means *Claim*.

(8) Brompton & M. Paris, II. cc.

you can credit the declaration of Pope Nicholas, in respect of it, it was an unjust invasion of the rights of the see of Dorchester (1). This claim, however, serves our present purpose, as it shews that archbishop Alfric, before the Conquest (2), and archbishop Thomas after it, had both been in possession of Lindsey and Lincoln. And 'tis certain that Robert Bloet, successor of Remigius, was obliged at last to pay a large sum to king William Rufus, for the final emancipation of his church, with Lindsey, from the see of York. In consideration whereof, and for the making of some recompence to the Yorkists, the king made the latter a noble grant of lands, &c. in Gloucestershire (3). And Rufus, on this account, has been sometimes represented as the founder of the church of Lincoln. In Dr. Fuller's *Church History*, where the arguments are stated on both sides, in respect of the great cause concerning the primacy of York and Canterbury, agitated soon after the conquest, the Yorkists assert that the *See of Lincoln* had been injuriously taken from the province of York (4). But this was pleaded very groundlessly, since we don't find that the primates of York ever claimed more than Lindsey: This is most evident from the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, who testifies that Remigius only recovered Lindsey from the province of York to that of Canterbury: The words are, ‘Lindeseiam totam ab Humber marino usque *Withemam* fluvium qui Lincolniam permet et penetrat per tanta terrarum spatia (5).’ As to St. Martin’s, in which part of the city of Lincoln this coin was minted (6), it was probably at this time the principal church of the city, before the cathedral was erected; and if so, this would be reason sufficient for the appearance of this saint’s name upon the coin. It is not only at this time prebendal, but is thought, as it stands just at the foot of the hill, at the upper end of, and almost in a line with, the high-street, or principal street, to have been the most ancient church in the city, though at pre-

(1) Br. Willis, II. p. 45. (2) Ibid. l. c.

(3) Tanner’s *Notitia*, p. 143. Dr. Idlett, *Hist. of Engl. Ch.* II. p. 74. seq.

(4) Fuller’s *Ch. Hist.* lib. iii. p. 39. (5) Giraldus Cambrensis, l. c.

(6) There was anciently at Lincoln a mint or place of coinage above-hill, and there are noble remains of it at this day. But this, I conceive, had no relation to the coin in question, as being of a much older date than even Athelstan’s law.

sent it is so much altered, contracted, and modernized. Paulinus aforetime, A. 628, built a church of stone at Lincoln, but this was in a ruinous state even in Ven. Bede's Time (1); and I think it not improbable, that St. Martin's might be the first church erected afterwards at this place. The question then is, who struck this coin there? I answer, no servant or workman of the king's, for it is evidently an ecclesiastical coin; no bishop of Lincoln, for the coin was minted before the bishops of that succession were in possession of the mint, or the see removed from Dorchester to Lincoln. It remains then, that the archbishop of York, then sitting, was the person (2), and indeed no other supposition but this will account for the sword upon this penny, (a device so peculiar to the primates of York) and the similarity of the coin, upon that score, with the *Sancti Petri moneta*, a species of currency undoubtedly issued by those primates, and who, as we have shewn at large, were at this time, masters, or diocesans, in respect of the city of Lincoln, or claimed at least to be such. However, it is natural to think, that, upon the altercation abovementioned, the archbishop's mint would immediately cease at this place.

Before I depart from this city, it is necessary for me to remark, that Mr. Thwaites, by an unaccountable and unpardonable mistake, has ascribed a coin of St. Edmundsbury, in Sir Andrew Fountaine's VIth Table, to it. The inscription on the reverse is, + ODO MONERLIA +, and this legend, 'tis true, is of difficult interpretation; but as the obverse has so plainly + SC EADMVND RE, there is no pretence for giving away from S. Edmundsbury to any other place; however, not to Lincoln, as Mr. Thwaites does, since one cannot discover any thing like the name of this city upon it.

Our fifth observation on Athelstan's ordinance shall be an enquiry into the rank, the state and condition of the *monetarii* there mentioned. A disquisition the more necessary, as gentlemen seem to have incurred a long string of mistakes upon this head.

(1) Beda, II. c. 16.

(2) Probably Alric Puttoc, in the Confessor's reign. Br. Willis, II. p 45. He renewed the claim of the Yorkists, and might strike money here in confirmation of it, but this is only conjecture.

The names of these masters, as being persons responsible for their respective performances (1), are generally expressed on the Saxon specie; sometimes alone, as universally on the *sticæ*, and sometimes along with the place of coinage. The *sticæ*, I say, universally give us the name of the mint-master alone, for whereas an Ethelred of Mr. Thoresby's has the reverse represented thus, ‘BERHTVE (Berhtulf, L and F being conjoined ‘in the last character) NDEL, which Mr. Thwaites reads ‘DVNEL (2).’ This is a mere mistake, for it ought to be read VENDELBERHT, these transpositions being very frequent on the Saxon specie; and the coin next described, which Mr. Thoresby testifies to be very little different, haying the legend VENDL...

The proper term for these workmen was *mynetene* (3), in Latin *Monetarius*; but this being a long word, an abbreviation of it commonly occurs on the coins, M. MO. ~~MO.~~ MON. MONE. MONET. and MONETA, all which are intended for *Monetarius* (4), as is clear from hence, that in Camden, I. 21. we have MONETAI, which must be interpreted *Monetarius*, the I at the end being intended for the upright stroke of R; and in Camden, IV. 2. it is still more at large, MINETRIV, or, as Mr. Wise represents it, MINETRIL (5); he also explains MONERLIA on the S. Edmundsbury penny, which I so lately mentioned, to the same sense. In one of the coins of S. Edmundsbury, Camden, I. 23. the office of the minter is expressed in other terms, but to the same effect, IOMA. M. ME FECIT, and Mr. Wise adduces a form of like import, BVRDEN MEC FECIT, from a coin of king Edward, in Nic. Keder (6). All shewing, that when gentlemen explain the above abbreviations, and particularly the last, by *Moneta*, as I observe they perpetually do (7), they slide into

(1) Monetarium itque nomen suum haud ostentationis ergo, sed in pinguus fidelitatis suæ, nummis apposuisse reor; nec id sponte, sed coactum fecisse, scilicet ut si reus fieret poena plecteretur. Wise, Cat. Numm. Bodl. p. 230.

(2) Thoresby, Mus. p. 341. (3) Thwaites, p. 4. Chron. Sax. p. 228.

(4) Du Fresne in Gloss. Tom. IV. Col. 1012. M. Le Blanc, p. 57.

(5) Wise, Numm. Bodl. p. 230.

(6) Ibidem. See also what is said on this subject on the 3d coin of Archbishop Elegmund.

(7) Thoresby, Mus. No. 42. 51. 57. 71. 345. et alibi passim.

nonsense and absurdity ; and so at other times, when they say, *Moneta vel Monetarius*, as Sir Andrew Fountaine frequently does, one cannot approve of the doubt or ambiguity. In the case of the *Sancti Petri moneta*, that of S. Edmundsbury, and of S. Martin, at Lincoln, *Moneta* indeed seems to be the word intended, and not *Monetarius* ; and the same may be understood in Wulfred's money (1) ; but in all other instances, the latter must necessarily be denoted.

In coins that exhibit the place of coinage, the word *Monetarius*, or its abbreviation, is often omitted ; for, instead of DORR MO. ON EOFERPIC, as on the coins referred to in the margin (2), you shall only have DORR. ON. EOFERPIC (3).

Authors of the first rank have been apt to take the names of these superintendents, or chief workmen at the several mints, to be the names of saints, bishops, abbots, kings, earls, and other great persons ; of places or offices, and I know not what ; by which means they have run into almost an infinity of errors, imagining, amongst other things, that the parties coined money for themselves, and in their own right, than which nothing could be less consonant to truth.

To begin with the saints ; Mr. Thwaites interprets Cudberht, the minter's name on the first coin of king Ælfred in Sir A. Fountaine's Tables, of St. Cuthbert ; for he writes upon it, *Nummus percussus Dunelmi, in Ecclesiae istius recessibus*, as if there were no other persons of the name of Cuthbert, but the Durham saint ; whereas it is well known to be a common appellation both in the north and south (4). I have no objection to a coin's being minted in the cathedral of Durham, as this penny of Ælfred the Great was stricken before Athelstan's time, but there is no reason for thinking that this was, since Cudberht is only the name of the mint-master, who could have no connection with the city of Durham ; as king Ælfred, his sovereign, had no power or influence there whatsoever.

Hither I may refer the 19th of Edmund, ALEFZIL M°, i. e. *Alefzīg monetarius*, where Mr. Thwaites most preposterously first finds the name Alef, and then conjectures, ‘ forte

(1) See the Commentary in Wulfred.

(2) Thoresby, Mus. p. 345. No. 84. also, p. 343. No. 58. and 344. No. 71.

(3) Ibidem, p. 348. (4) Chron. Sax. p. 55. 61.

‘ legendum,

‘legendum, + SILDUM, hoc est *Crucis Signum*,’ on account of the crosses which appear on that piece. ‘But these crosses are perpetually seen on reverses of this form.

I descend to bishops; Mr Thwaites would read VLFETEL, on the 4th coin of Edward, *Osketel*, to make him the 17th archbishop of York, which is impossible, as Edward the Confessor, whose coin this undoubtedly is, did not ascend the throne till A. 1042, and Oskitel died A. 971. He acknowledges, however, the name may be Ulfketel; let it be what it will, it was only the signature of one of the king’s coiners.

In the imperfect inscription on 39th of Edward, the same gentleman fancied he saw the title of Abbot, ‘Nescio an ad ‘Abbatem aliquem referatur, siquidem ABOT legatur.’ It would be in vain to attempt to decypher this legend, it is so mutilated, but we may depend upon it, the four letters are a portion of the mint-master’s name, and have no concern with the office of an abbot.

As to lay persons, and in the first place, kings; the 6th of Cuthred has *Sigeberht* in the reverse; and Sir A. Fountaine comments upon it: ‘Satrapas vel monetarius vel forsan *Sige- bertus Successor Cuthred*; in regno occidentalium Saxonum; nummum enim hunc pertinere credo ad Cuthredum regem occidunt. Sax. et successorem *Æthelheardi* seu *Æthelweardi*.’ Most wonderful! Sure, I need add no more (1).

A coin of Athelstan’s, recited above, has REGNALD MON. which Mr. Thoresby interprets wrong in the first place *Reginaldi moneta*, and then proceeds, ‘This Regnald or Reginald (I being included in the N) was himself also styled king, and won the city of York, but was defeated A. 944 (2);’ but few will believe he was any other than a common minter, and probably an officer of the archbishop’s (3).

I go next to the earls and grandees.

The third of *Æthelred* in Sir Andrew, has, + STEORLER M. OEOFRE, which in Mr. Thwaites reads very absurdly, STEORL. E. Regis MOnetarius; and then adds, ‘Nescio an E sejungendum

(1) However, I shall note here, that the piece demonstrably belongs to Cuthred king of Kent, and not Cuthred of Wessex.

(2) Thoresby, Mus. p. 345. and again in No. 85. there.

(3) See above, p. 51.

“ sit, ut notet Eorl.” In like manner he interprets the 6th of that prince, which gives us, as plainly as one can desire, + ALFPINE O LVND, thus, ALFPIN. Eorl. o [on] LVNDON: And thus the 19th of Burgred, WINE MONETA, he divides, WIN. E. MONETA, and would have E to mean Eorl, as if it was intended to say, *the earl's money*, when nobody ever heard of such an earl, and the name is plainly WINE, a common Saxon appellation (1). Let these specimens suffice in respect of Mr. Thwaites, though he has many more of the same stamp (2).

Sir Andrew Fountaine thinks Cudberht, on Ælfred's penny abovementioned, to be *a nobleman or minter*. Earlued and Eoba, on the coins of Offa, he also takes to be *magnates*. The charge against this author is further supported in the numerous references accumulated at the bottom of the page (3). Wherefore I shall only remark here, that Sir Andrew, in the *Dissert. Epistolaris* to the earl of Pembroke; thought he made his lordship a compliment by calling these minters *viri illustres*, and that he found the name of *Herbert* amongst them, an argument, as he takes it, that his family flourished 900 years ago. Nay he holds it probable, that Hereberht, on a penny of Ceolulf, was the same person with the earl of that name that was slain by the Danes, A. 938, and accordingly pronounces him, p. 174, without hesitation, *unus e magnatibus.*

Mr. Walker esteems Wlfred, on the 2d of Ælfred's coins, to be the name of some *nobleman*; as likewise Eelhfard, on a coin of Beormiric; to be another great man; Eaduini on the penny of Eanred, to be *unus e magnatibus vel forsan monetarius*; and Viberehtus on a coin of Egbert, to be *nomen vel satrapæ vel monetarii*; and Eoba, on the 13th of Offa, to be *unus e pro-*

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 37. 39.

(2) As p. 6, No. 15. and p. 7, No. 13. 5 of Edgar. Also p. 8. No. 10. 13. 14. 1. p. 10. No. 6. 17. 8. p. 11. No. 13. Mr. Thoresby generally concurs with him in his interpretations.

(3) Sir A. Fountaine, p. 169. See him again on 12th of Athelstan, 3d of Æthelweard, 1st of Anlaf, and Audulfius, 1st of Berhtulf, 2d. 6th and 8th of Coenuulf, 16 & 20th of Edgar, 8 and 18th of Eadmund, 56, 57, 58 and 61 of Eadweard, 1st of Eric, all the coins of Offa except one or two, and the general note on the 10th table.

ceribus. This is sufficient, methinks, in regard of this gentleman (1).

The 4th of Sir Andrew Fountaine's *Numism. incert.* which was Mr. Thoresby's coin, has EDE NOD ON SNOTENGEHAM, and, what is extraordinary, is the same on both sides. Mr. Thoresby writes upon it, 'There is no king's name, and perhaps there never was any other name designed than Ethelnoth's, who was a *nobleman* deservedly celebrated in the Saxon annals for his services against the Danes, A. D. 894, as appears by the learned Dr. Gibson's curious edition of the *Chron. Sax.* p. 94. In which century we find the names of *Ceolnoth* and *Plegmund*, upon their respective monies; and perhaps this noble *Ealdorman*, (as he is there stiled) might have the like privilege granted him as those archbishops, by royal authority. I am the rather induced to offer this conjecture, because it is one of the minted coins of those ages, and therefore less likely to be done *incuria monetarii.*' But now the stile and manner of the coin do not at all agree with that age; the former is that of the mint-master's of more recent times; and I make no doubt but by some mistake there are two reverses, instead of an obverse and reverse (2); and moreover, that it is a regal coin, and not fabricated by any ealdorman or earl, though it cannot be known with any certainty, as matters stand at present, to what king it belongs. Some future discovery of a piece wrought by the same master may determine the owner, and whenever that happens, I am of opinion he will prove some prince about the time of Ethelred II.

Mr. Thoresby, in one instance, conceives the minter to have been a great officer of state; or employed at least about the king's person or household; for whereas we have on the reverse of a coin of Edward the Confessor, which, by the way, he falsely bestows on Edward the Elder, HVSCARL. ON. LEILE, he comments upon it, 'hujcarl, *famulus domesticus*, a term seldom given

(1) However, see his Annot. in Camd. I. 7, 8, 9. 13. 27, 28. II. 9. 12. 23, 24. III. 35. and IV. 29.

(2) The case here is different from No. 5. of Sir A. Fountaine's *Numism. incert.* for though the master's name occurs there on both sides, the type on the obverse varies from that of the reverse.

'to any but the king's own servants,' saith Somner (1). And yet Huscarl can be deemed no other than the proper name of the mint-master.

So as to Thorr, one of whose performances is cited above (2), he observes, 'This Thorr was probably the very same person who is frequently mentioned in *Domesday Book*, as having had a vast estate in these northern parts of England; but being dispossess'd thereof by the Conqueror, the most of it lay waste at the time of that memorable survey.' Here is no rank or quality pretended, but only an intimation given of a great estate. But I desire it may be considered, that these mint-masters, of which there were six and seven and eight in a city, could never be people of any great account, but only principal workmen at the king's and prelates mints. Had they been of such rank, as to coin money for themselves, as the remarks of these gentlemen seem, in some cases, to imply, you would certainly have found their names in another place, viz. on the obverse of the respective coins; as EDILHELM, who is supposed to have been a nobleman of the kingdom of Northumberland, appears on the obverse of the *stica* assigned to him, and BRODER, his workman, on the reverse (3). Whence one may conclude in general, that the quality of the minters, in the Saxon times, though the wardenship or superintendency of the mints was doubtless a place of profit, and of some trust and confidence, was only of a secondary and inferior rate; and to this agrees Mr. Wise, 'Monetarii mihi videntur inferioris conditionis homines, aliorum artificum more arte sua victum quærentes (4).' This is further evident from the narrative we have of a proceeding of king Henry I. A. 1125, when he inflicted a most severe punishment on all the minters of the kingdom at Winchester. The authors, who inform us of this (5), don't give us the name of any one of them, which certainly they would not have failed to have done, had they been personages of such consequence as earls, or noblemen. I think it probable, that the first minters amongst the Saxons

(1) Thoresby, Museum, in Append. p. 591. (2) P. 71.

(3) See above, p. 7. (4) Wise, Numm. Bodl. p. 230.

(5) Chron. Sax. p. 228. Hen. Hunt. p. 382. Contin. Flor. Vig. p. 660. M. Paris, p. 70.

might be people of better estimation than those that came afterwards ; they might enjoy the whole profits of their *fatrice*, or *officinæ* (1), but when the offices were once taken into the king's hands, and the profits thereof were become an article of the royal revenue ; when the minter's emoluments were assunied by his principal, the prelate, as was the case in the later Saxon times, their condition would naturally suffer some diminution and debasement. Let us weigh too the nature of the punishments inflicted on delinquents at the mints, eviration, ementulation, occæcation, amputation of the hand, disgraceful and horrible penalties ! and they will appear very incompatible with high blood ; for what earls, or other noblemen, think you, would ever submit their persons, for the sake of a little lucre, insignificant to people of their rank, to the hazard of castigations so excruciating and intolerable, as well as ignominious ? And why again, should gentlemen be endeavouring at every town to compliment some of our old, respectable, and even noble families, the Saviles, the Herberts, the Berties, &c. with such originals as these ? I fear they do them no great honour in deducing them from stocks so precarious and uncertain at best ; and especially, whilst it is so problematical, in my eye at least, whether these supposed progenitors were people of much rank, or of any exalted condition whatsoever (2).

I proceed now on those places and towns which gentlemen thought they discovered in the names of our masters. The 2d of Anlaf, in Sir A. Fountaine, has FARNAN MONETA, and Mr. Thwaites comments upon it, ‘ Nummus in Farnâ ‘ insula percussus, infra recessus Ecclesiæ (quod solenne erat) ‘ nondum dirutæ,’ and then appeals to the device, which, according to him, exhibits the rude form of a mitre, a pastoral staff, and the book with seven seals, combined together ; he then observes, ‘ Cum Anlafus susciperet Baptismum, credi ‘ derim hunc nummum percussum, sacram fæderis cum Christo ‘ initi tesseram ;’ so that in his opinion it has something of the

(1) Confer Du Fresnii Gloss. v. Monetarius.

(2) M. Le Blanc thinks the French moneyers formerly performed singly what many officers are now employed about. *Traité des monnoyes de France*, p. 58. and says, ‘ Ce sont des personnes qui nous sont tout à fait inconnues, et dont je ne scache pas qu'il soit fait mention ailleurs que sur ces monnoyes.’

nature of a medal. For the device I shall refer to the coins of archbishop Wulfred, No. 1. Here it will be sufficient to observe, that Farnan is no more than the name of the mint-master, and that *moneta* was not intended to express *nummus*, but *monetarius*; so that in regard of the suggestion, that the penny was minted in the church of Farne, before it was destroy'd, and of the medallic intention of it, these are no more than dreams. The 57th of Edward, Mr. Thwaites also thinks, may shew the *Icon Asceterii Farnensis*, a most extravagant and groundless conjecture, as indeed too many of this gentleman's are. The 18th of Edmund has plainly BOINLYI, and *lac*, *ic*, and *leac*, are usual Saxon terminations; Mr. Thwaites, however, divides and interprets this legend, BDI. Monetarius. LYEcetfleb. Methinks, I need only give his interpretation, to expose the whim and absurdity of it.

Mr. Thoresby finds *York wolds* on the reverse of a penny of Elfred, king of Northumberland, as he esteems it. And Mr. Walker before him interpreted it just as incongruously, *Deirorum Sylvæ*. But hear Mr. Thoresby; ‘*Deirorum Sylvæ*, faith • Mr. W. O. through mistake; for the Saxon *pold* signifies a • hilly country void of wood, which strictly answers the nature • of the place, which is called *York-wolds* to this day. This • piece of the *Northumbrian Elfred's* was probably coined at • *Beverley*, which is upon the *wolds*, for the use of the *Deiri*, • or *Yorkshire men* (1).’ But now if this piece was coined at • *Beverley*, one would expect to see *Beoferlic* upon it, as the name of this town is written in the Saxon Chronicle (2). Besides, who ever saw *Deira*, the name of the Northumbrian kingdom, written *Diar*, as in this compound *Diarvald*? Is not *Diar* here the same as in *Diarulf*, which is admitted to be the proper name of a person (3)? ’Tis ridiculous again to say, *Money for the Deirans*, when the king stiles himself on the obverse, according to Mr. Thoresby, *Rex Northanhymbrorum*; and as to his notion of *pald* ’tis all supposition, since it may stand for *peald*, a woody country, as well as for *pold*, an hilly one; but as I take it, it means neither the one nor the other, but when it enters the composition of the Saxon names of men,

(1) Thoresby, Museum, p. 340. (2) Chron. Sax. p. 52.

(3) Thoresby, Mus. in Append. p. 591.

imports power or dominion (1). Thus MO in this penny is to be interpreted *monetarius*, and not *moneta*, and Diarvald is the name of this minter. But what is more, and most decisive in this matter, the piece is most demonstrably a penny of king *Ælfred the Great*, and consequently can have nothing to do with the kingdom of Northumberland.

Mr. Thoresby also discovered the town of *Leeds* on a *flīca* of Ethelred, for the reverse being LEOFDES M, he writes upon it thus, ‘ Supposing the F redundant or designed for E, wanting only the *lineola* at the bottom, (an easy error in the bungling minters of those ages) and it makes LEODES. *Leeds* was, without controversy, a place much more eminent during the heptarchy, than many places that occur upon their monies: witness *Bede*, the venerable historian, who lived in this very century, and writes it likewise with an O (2).’ This piece is a *flīca*, and the names of places seldom or never occur on coins of that denomination; *Leof* is a common syllable in compound Saxon names; and *Leeds* is written *Loidis*, both in *Bede’s Original*, and in king *Ælfred’s Saxon Version*. I am the shorter on this piece, because some Remarks have aforetime been made upon it in *the Series of Dissertations*, p. 22. One sees, methinks, in part, from these instances, what it was that induced our connoisseurs to fluctuate so much in their interpretation of M, MO, &c. as noted above; since taking the master’s names for the names of places in certain pieces, they could not avoid explaining the abbreviations by *moneta* instead of *monetarius*, as this would not afford them in those cases any congruous sense.

Mr. Walker esteems a penny, which he falsely confers on Edward the Confessor, to come from St. Edmundsbury, because the name of *Edmund* appears on the reverse (3). But this is a coin of Edward the Elder, and consequently was made long before the house at St. Edmundsbury was in such a flourishing state, as to be privileg’d with a mint (4), and therefore Edmund here is only the name of the king’s minter.

(1) Reg. gen. de nom. virorum in Chron. Sax. p. 53. Thoresby, Mus. No. 77. 81. 800.

(2) Thoresby, Mus. p. 341. (3) Walker in Camden, IV. 20.

(4) See the case of S. Edmundsbury coins above.

Permit me here, in the last place, to put the question, whether these reflections, these criticisms on the performances of our English Antiquaries on the Anglo-Saxon specie, do not inforce a necessity of re-engraving Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables with a new and enlarged Commentary, for the purpose, 1st, of appropriating the coins to their respective owners by certain pre-establish'd rules, and upon better grounds, than has been hitherto done? A subject on which I could say much. 2dly, of explaining them more fully and minutely? and, 3dly, of rectifying the numerous and almost perpetual errors of the tabulists and scholiasts? Certainly they do. And it were much to be wished that for the honour and improvement of the Saxon Cabinet, some skilful and painful hand (for it would be a work of some pains and labour) could be persuaded to undertake it. It would certainly give me great pleasure, if the hints occasionally dropt in this descant on Athelstan's law, should prove of any use, or afford any assistance to a design, which, if executed in a masterly manner, could not fail of reflecting great honour upon the undertaker, and, I may add, upon our country in general.

Having thus finished the Commentary on this famous Ordinance of king Athelstan, so far as relates to the present subject, I shall leave the consideration of the particulars, concerning the several other places of coinage contained in the list, unto those who may be disposed to examine and illustrate them, and proceed in the history. Only it is obvious to remark previously, that no penny of the bishop of Rochester's has yet been seen; and, what is more extraordinary, not the least notice of this prelate's mint, or of his right to a mint, is given, in the various exemplifications and enumerations of his privileges inserted in that great volume, the *Registrum Roffense* of the late learned and industrious Dr. John Thorpe (1). And, what may be thought equally strange, there is no specification in the ordinance of any mints allotted to the bishops of London and Winchester, when at the first place there were no less than eight, and at the latter six, I presume they enjoy'd none before the ordinance.

(1) Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*. Lond. 1769. fol.

That

That part of the ordinance, which respected the subjects, the archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot of St. Augustine, and the bishop of Rochester, seems to have continued in force but a short time, not quite a century, but to have been repealed in the reign of king Ethelred the Second, who for some reason, now unknown, but with the consent of the states, revoked the privilege indulged to them by Athelstan's law. The clause of revocation runs thus, 'Et nemo officinam aliquam monetarium habeat praeter regem (1);' or, as Brompton gives it, 'Nullus habeat aliquem monetarium nisi Rex (2).' By this act, the inferior mints were all in general resumed into the hands of the crown; and 'tis certain that king Ethelred coined a great deal of specie.

I hold it not improbable, that the Tower-weight, as also the standard, *ȝeone*, whence, according to Mr. Somner (3), our English word Sterling is deriv'd, might commence at this time. The words of the Council of Ænham are; *þat an mynet gang: open ealle ȝar deode butan ælcon þalre: Ut una moneta eat per omnem hanc regionem praeter falsam (4)*, which I would render, *without any falsification*, an expression applicable both to weight and standard. Mr. Folkes, indeed, is of opinion, that the pound of the Tower of London was the *old* pound of the Saxon moneymen before the Conquest (5), and so it might be after Ethelred's reign, from which *æra* until the Conquest, the money might be coined at $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains and less; but anciently the pound seems to have been heavier, for how otherwise can we account for some pennies of Ceolnoth, Ælfred, Edward the Elder, and Athelstan, weighing 23 and 24 grains (6)? In short, as the Tower-weight is allow'd to have taken place before the Norman Conquest, one knows not where so properly to place the introduction of it as this juncture. I speak, you observe, with diffidence.

But howsoever this matter may turn out, our prelates seem soon to have recover'd their privilege, their just rights, founded upon long usage and prescription, as may be reasonably inferred.

(1) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 118. (2) Brompt. inter X Script. Col. 897.

(3) Somner, Gloss. ad X Script. v. *Esterlingus*.

(4) Wilkinsi Concilia, p. 280. See also his Legg. A—Sax. p. 134.

(5) Folkes, Tables of English Silver Coins, p. 3.

(6) Stephen Martin Leake, Esq. p. 18.

from the grant of the *Confessor* to the abbot of S. Edmundsbury,
 ‘ Et concessit etiam [Edwardus] dicto Edmundo monetarium
 ‘ five cuneum infra Bury (1),’ as likewise from the mintage of
 the Peter-Pence, as they are called, at York, and of that curious
 Lincoln penny abovementioned, in that reign (2). Nay we
 find that Thomas, archbishop of York, (to say nothing here of
 Silvester, abbot of St. Augustine, and the bishops of Durham)
 was seized of his mints soon after the conquest; so that as there
 was no law in force against prelates after that event, there is
 good colour of reason for believing there was none before. As
 to archbishop Thomas, king Edward the First, in his distress
 for money to support himself and his army in his design against
 Wales, made a very strict inquisition into the abilities of his
 subjects, in order to a taxation: This was A. D. 1276 (3).
 And in two year’s time a very oppressive statute of *Quo Warranto*
 follow’d, to oblige those who claimed any franchises or liber-
 ties to shew their title to them before the king’s justices, or
 otherwise they should become forfeited to the crown (4); and
 this act extended to the archbishops, as well as the suffragans,
 and lay-nobles. On this occasion the archbishop of York
 pleaded, 8 Edw. I. ‘ That in the time of king Henry, son to
 ‘ the Conqueror, one *Odo*, sheriff of *Yorkshire*, did hinder
 ‘ Gerard, then archbishop of *York*, from holding pleas, and
 ‘ giving judgment in his court *De Monetariis*. The bishop
 ‘ complained to the king, and shewed his seisin, and the right
 ‘ of the church of S. *Peter*; whereupon the king did send his
 ‘ letters patents to the sheriff, the effect of which was, to will
 ‘ and command him that Gerard, archbishop, in the lands of
 ‘ his archbishopric, should have pleas in his court *de monetariis*
 ‘ suis, of thieves, and of all others, as Thomas archbishop (5) had
 ‘ in the time of his father or brother. . . . And the bishop said,
 ‘ that he and his predecessors had always had the same mints
 ‘ as he claimed them. Upon this issue was joined, and the
 ‘ jury found for the bishop, and judgment given that the bishop
 ‘ should be without day (6).’

(1) Spelm. Gloss. v. Cuneus. This indeed was the abbot’s first licence, but Edward would never have granted it, had it not been then usual for prelates to coin.

(2) See above. (3) Barrington, Observ. on ancient Statutes, p. 88.

(4) Ibidem, p. 93. (5) In the beginning of the Conqueror’s reign.

(6) Drake, Eboracum, p. 542.

Mr. Folkes mentions a coin of the earl of Pembroke's minted by Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, in king Stephen's time, with a profile head and a crosier (1); and the piece is engraved both in the earl's tables (2), and by Mr. Folkes (3), as deservedly it ought, being certainly extremely rare and valuable. The elegant and judicious Lord Lyttelton, in the *Life and Age of King Henry the Second*, observes, it was probably coined at one of the royal mints (4); but that I think may be doubted; the head indeed is apparently the king's, and it would have been most enormous for the bishop, even amidst the irregularities of this reign, to have placed his own head upon it; but then, methinks, the crosier, the prelate's name put on the obverse, and the king's postponed to the reverse, all seem to betoken it to be a prelatical piece issued from the bishop's mint (5). 'Tis true one cannot by any means approve of this unnatural heterogeneous mixture of the crosier and the crown on this piece; for though the regal and sacerdotal powers were often anciently united in one person, as has been shewn by various authors, yet a combination of those symbols, in this reign, could tend to nothing but to breed confusion, as we see it misled this learned peer.

To return; As our metropolitans appear to have had their moneyers, and to have wrought their mints, down to the æra of the Conquest, though in a limited and restrained manner, so as to make it difficult now to distinguish their pieces from those stricken at Canterbury by the crown; our next subjects of enquiry must be, *when*, and whether *ever* they were formally deprived of their right, a point of some difficulty, as is acknowledged by Mr. Somner (6), whether they ever regained it, by grants or otherwise; and lastly, upon what footing the archbishops, Warham and Cranmer, enjoy'd their mints in the later times.

Silvester, abbot of St. Augustine, near Canterbury, died A. D. 1151, in king Stephen's time, and the king seized the

(1) Folkes, Tables of Silver Coins, p. 5. (2) Num. Pembr. IV. 23.

(3) Folkes, Ibidem, Plate I.

(4) Lord Lyttelton, Life and Age of K. Henry II. Vol. II. p. 491. Edit. 8vo.

(5) 'Tis not known how the bishop of Winchester came by his privilege; by charter, or usurpation. (6) Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. p. 65.

temporalities of that opulent foundation, as usual. The abbot was in possession of his mint at that time; but upon this occasion, his successors were irrecoverably divested of their privilege; for when the king restored the temporalities of that house to Silvester's successor, he retained the mint in his own hands. But we shall insert an account of this transaction, as it is curious, and so pertinent to our subject, from William Thorne (1).

' Memorandum quod iste Silvester Abbas et eciam multi
 ' Prædecessores ejus habuerunt cuneum (2) monetæ in Civitate
 ' Cantuariæ sicut per Inquisitionem factam per Arnoldum Ferre,
 ' Wulfinum mercere, et alios (3), qui jurati dixerunt quod
 ' quidem Abbas S. Augustini, Silvester nomine habuit in civi-
 ' tate Cantuariæ cuneum monetæ et Elverdus Porrere custodivit
 ' cuneum illum ex parte illius Abbatis, et quando ille Abbas
 ' obiit seifita fuit Abbatia in manu domini regis una cum præ-
 ' dicto cuneo, nec unquam aliquis Abbas qui ei successit illius
 ' cunei recuperavit seifinam. Et fuit ista Inquisitio facta tem-
 ' poribus Hen. Secundi Regis, et Regis Richardi filii ejus-
 ' dem (4).'

But before this date, Henry duke of Normandy, afterwards king Henry the Second, on his landing, A. 1149, ' Plurimo-
 rum monetam cassavit (5)', which shews, that the ruling powers had it in view to controul and suppress the inferior mint offices, as opportunity should serve. Wherefore afterwards, A. 1153, when articles were agreed upon between king Stephen and duke Henry, it was covenanted, ' Regalia passim
 ' a proceribus usurpata, Rex in sua recipiet: That the king [Stephen] should be reinstated in all the regalities usurped in different parts by the nobles (6). And accordingly Henry the Second, on his accession, novam fecit monetam, quæ sola recepta erat et accepta in regno (7). This was a general, and even a necessary

(1) It occurs also in Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. Append. p. 8. but is there faultily printed.

(2) A mint, not coinage, as Mr. Somner, in the Glossary, expounds it. It signifies also the puncheon or die, so named from its figure like a wedge or cone, *conus*, as it is called in Brompton, Col. 898, where see the Glossary. Hence comes our English word *coin*. See the same Glossary.

(3) *Patet* is omitted. (4) Thorne inter X Script. Col. 1816.

(5) R. Hoveden, p. 490. (6) M. Paris, p. 86. (7) R. Hoveden, p. 491.

measure, because the encroachments of the nobility on the royal prerogative, in the reign of Stephen, had been, in respect of the mint, most intolerable; ‘Erant in Anglia,’ says William of Newburg, ‘quodammodo tot reges, vel potius tyranni, quot domini Castellorum, habentes singuli percussuram proprii numismatis, et potestatem subditis dicendi jus (1).’ Mr. Camden accordingly tells us, that Henry the Second suppressed the mints of the earls and barons (2). And I conceive that about this time, or perhaps before, upon some such occasion as offer’d on the demise of Silvester, abbot of St. Augustine, the mint of the abbot of St. Edmundsbury was resumed by the crown (3). If so, we may conclude that the private mints in general were suppressed at this time. But that some prelates had their offices re-granted, will appear in the sequel.

Presuming then, that our metropolitans continued to exercise their mints as long as the abbots of St. Augustine, as no doubt they did, yet they certainly were disfeiz’d of them on king Henry’s accession, A. 1154; for though Hoveden’s words concerning proceedings in the year 1149, may leave room for the archbishop to retain his privilege, when others were deprived of theirs, ‘Et fecit monetam novam, quam vocabant monetam ducis; et non tantum ipse, sed omnes potentes, tam episcopi, quam comites et barones, suam faciebant monetam. Sed ex quo dux ille venit, plurimorum monetam cassavit;’ whereby, as not *all* the bishops and nobles had their specie decried and reprobated, but only *plurimi*, the archbishops of Canterbury and York were probably amongst those whose moneys were still suffered to pass; yet in 1154, the primate of Canterbury certainly lost his privilege in that *general* resumption. This is plain from the term *reddidit* in the instrument which I am going to produce; for I shall now shew, that the privilege was restored to our archbishop by king Richard the First, and that the re-grant was confirmed by king John, in the first year of his reign.

(1) Gul. Neubrig. See also above, p. 11. Mr. Barrington observes from Bou-Jainvilliers, that before Phil. le Bel, who acceded A. 1286, the great lords in France coined in their own seigneuries. Barrington, p. 149.

(2) Camden, Remains, p. 184.

(3) Anselm, abbot of this house, died A. 1148. Willis, Mitred Abbeys, p. 85.

• *Johannes Dei Gratia, &c.* Sciatis nos concessisse et præsentí
 • carta nostra confirmasse Deo et Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. et vene-
 • rabili Patri nostro *Huberto* (1) Cant. Archiepiscopo, et omni-
 • bus successoribus suis sibi canonice substituend *tres monetarius*
 • cum tribus cuneis (2), ad monetam fabricandum in Civitate
 • Cantuariæ perpetuo habendos, quos dominus Rex Ric. frater
 • noster reddidit bone memoriæ *Baldwino Cant. Archiepiscopo*, et
 • successoribus suis, et carta sua confirmavit. Quare volumus
 • et firmiter præcipimus, quod Prædict. Archiep. H. et succe-
 • sores sui, habeant prædictos monetarios cum prædictis cuneis,
 • ita libere, honorifice et quiete, sicut aliquis prædecessorum
 • suorum liberius et quietius monetarios suos cum cuneis suis
 • habuit. Hiis testibus, &c. datum, &c. apud Cenoman. xxix
 • die Septemb. anno primo regni nostri (3).

It appears to me, from the words of king John, in the sixth year of his reign, that our archbishop was the first prelate that regained his right, after the year 1154, though others were afterwards re-invested with theirs; for the king, speaking in that year of his exchange, says, ‘Item si quis cambiaverit denarium vel argentum alii [f. alibi] quam ad Cambium nostrum, salvo Cambio Domini Cant. apud Cant. tam Cambiens quam recipiens cum eo, quod cambiaverit, capiantur (4).’ Mints and exchanges are relatives, wherefore these words seem clearly to prove, that at that time, the sixth of John, the archbishop of Canterbury was the only prelate that enjoy’d his mint; for surely if others had been allow’d to possess mints and exchanges, their’s would have been excepted, as well as the archbishop’s.

The archbishops of York also, who lost their privilege on the general act of resumption, A. 1154, had it restored to them 2 Henry III. or A. D. 1217.

• *Rex Vicecom. Ebor. salutem. Mandamus tibi firmiter præcipientes quod facias venerabilem Patrem nostrum Dominum W. Ebor. Archiep. bene et libere habere cuneos suos (5) mo-*

(1) Hubert Walter.

(2) Concerning the number of Moneyers here granted, see above, p. 19.

(3) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 355. (4) Wilkins, Ibidem, p. 360.

(5) Two or three. See above.

• netæ nostræ in civitate nost. Ebor. sicut Prædecessores sui Ar-
 • chiepiscopi Ebor. eos melius liberius habuerunt. Salvo nobis
 • jure nostro quod ad nos inde pertinet (1).

There is a reference here, you observe, to the old usage and custom of these primates (2); so that this was only a renewal or restoration of their rights. However, upon the foundation of this re-grant, the primates of York continued coining till 8 Edw. I. when archbishop William Wickwain pleaded on a *Quo Warranto*, in respect of his two mints, ‘ That he and his predecessors had been in seisin of these two mints time out of mind, &c.’ and fully made good his claim (3). Nay, there is an half-groat of Henry the VIth, or rather of Henry the VIIth, with two keys, supposed, with reason, to be the offspring of the archbishop of York’s mint (4); and there are other coins of the like stamp, temp. Henry VII. (5).

The bishops of Durham coined money after the Conquest, and losing their privilege A. 1154, had it renewed to them by king Richard the First. For Roger Hoveden writes on the year 1196, ‘ Eodem anno Richardus Rex Angliæ dedit Phi-
 • lippo Dunelmensi electo licentiam fabricandi monetam in civi-
 • tate sua Dunelmensi, quod prædecessoribus suis a multo tem-
 • pore retro (6) non erat permisum (7).’ The palatines coined money in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII. (8).

To bring all these matters together; king Stephen himself honoured the church and bishop of Lichfield, with, what appears to be a new privilege in respect of that see, a mint at Lichfield.

‘ Sciatis me dedisse et consisse in perpetuam elemosinam Deo
 • et eccl. S. Ceddæ de Lichfield et Waltero Episcopo Cov. et
 • Successoribus suis in perpetuum, unum cuneum habendum
 • apud Lichfield (9).’

This case was very particular; the mints were in many hands in king Stephen’s reign, but all, it seems, were not

(1) Drake, Eborac. in Append. p. cvi. (2) See what is said above, p. 84,

(3) See above, p. 84. (4) Drake, Eboracum, p. cvii.

(5) Ibidem, and the Plates to Mr. Folkes’s Tables, No. VI.

(6) I suppose from the year 1154. (7) Rog. Hoveden, p. 768.

(8) Plates to Mr. Folkes’s Tables, No. V. and VI.

(9) Dugdale, Monast. Tom. III.

usurpers,

usurpers, but some had legal grants or patents for their practices. Stephen here impowers Walter Durdent to coin money at Lichfield; now Walter was made bishop of that see, A. 1149, and his mint was suppressed A. 1154; so that it may be justly doubted whether bishop Walter ever set a mint a going, though he had a grant for it. And by the best enquiries, which I have continued to make for many years, ever since I had the honor of being collated to a stall in that church, by the favor of his grace, the present archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1757, I cannot learn that so much as a single penny of bishop Walters has ever been found there.

But even after the general suspension of the mints in 1154, our kings would sometimes pass *new* grants for coining, as well as revive old ones: This appears from the case of the bishop of Chichester (1), which I regard as an *entire new licence*, and not a revival of an obsolete or discontinued right. However, no coins from this see have ever yet appeared. 'Tis also remarked by Mr. Camden, that even Henry II. granted a liberty of coining to *certain cities and abbies* (2).

We learn from the various particulars above stated, that our prelates, at least some of them, were very anciently favoured with indulgences in respect of coinage; that their pristine rights were frequently *renew'd* to them by grants and patents (3); and that even as late as the reigns of Stephen and John, some few *new patents of the sort* were issued. But I cannot discover that the lay-peers ever had the privilege of coining after the year 1154. Indeed it is a moot point with me, whatever it may be with others, whether the lay-nobles were *ever* possessed of any *legal power* of coining money; encroachments undoubtedly were made on the royal prerogative, by many of them, in the disorderly reign of king Stephen, and something of the same kind might evene in the distractions of the Northumbrian kingdom, as remarked above, but I have seen no evidence to convince me that the ealdormen, or other great men,

(1) Blount's *Nomo & Eiud.* v. Cuneus. (2) Camden's *Remains*, p. 184.

(3) Some, however, seem never to have had their rights restored, as the bishop of Rochester, and the abbots of S. Augustine and S. Edmundsbury.

amongst the Saxons, were ever properly authorized to coin. But I go on;

Archbishop William Warham actually coined money at Canterbury, as is fully evidenced by our plate. Now this primate had no particular grant for the purpose that we know of, and consequently acted upon the footing of the royal concessions of Richard I. and king John, reported above: He only revived and exerted an ancient obsolete right. Whence it should seem, that if we have no pieces of our metropolitans from the 1st of John to the incumbency of archbishop Warham, it was not because the intermediate primates had been despoiled of their right by any legal authority, but only had voluntarily defisted from the exercise of it; that the privilege of the mint continued dormant, or in abeyance, and might be reviv'd and resum'd at pleasure, as it was by archbishop Warham, and afterwards by archbishop Cranmer.

The archbishops of York stood upon the same grounds, viz. the grant of 2 Hen. III. and their own practices consequent thereupon; and therefore the charge against cardinal Wolsey, that when archbishop of York he placed the initials of his name and the cardinal's hat on the king's coin (1), was perfectly frivolous, as these are but the necessary distinctions of his mint; and the coin, which bore the king's name and effigies, was evidently the king's money, and not his. Bishop Nicholson observes very justly, that Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Lee, archbishop of York, and Tunstal, bishop of Durham, all of them coined money afterwards, ' and the practice was so far from being illegal, that when an act of parliament prescribed to the royal mint in the Tower, especial provision was made that thereby no prejudice should accrue to the coiners of York, Duresme, and Canterbury (2).' Mr. Drake adds, that archbishop Lee would probably have put the hat on his coin, had he been a cardinal (3); and we may say the same of Cranmer and Tunstal. In brief, Wolsey did not make money either as cardinal or legate, but as archbishop of York,

(1) Nicholson, Hist. Libr. p. 263. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, in Collections, p. 178.

(2) Nicholson, Ibid.

(3) Drake, Eboracum, p. cviii.

appre-

apprehending he might innocently do it as a right, by grant and antient usage, appurtenant to his see; nay, 'tis observable, that this article, in his impeachment, does not proceed upon the *illegality* of his practice in coining money, for the right of doing this seems to be admitted, but on his pompous and presumptuous mind, as it is there termed, in joining and imprinting the cardinal's hat under the king's arms in the king's groats made at York; which is called a *novel practice* indeed, but is not represented as implying any thing criminal in the eye of law. The article, in one word, was a mere malicious insinuation.

The history we intended here ends and determines; for we find not that any of the subsequent metropolitans, after Cranmer, ever attempted to strike money. There is a particular or two, however, concerning these ancient and metropolitical and the other inferior mints, which, before we take a final leave of the subject, may merit a few words; but they shall be handled as briefly as possible.

There is a place called the Mint-yard at Canterbury, which some may be apt to fancy was the archbishop's office in the ancient times of which we have been speaking; but, according to the Canterbury antiquarians (1), these buildings, which belonged formerly to the priory of Christ Church, and not to the archbishop, and indeed composed the almonry, were not appropriated to the purpose of coining money, till after the dissolution of that monastery by king Henry VIII. It consequently was the king's office, and not the archbishop's, that was kept there. There is no guessing now where the archbishop's mints were, in those early days, only that in general they were somewhere *in the city*, and not within the precincts of the palace, as we have shewn above (2).

2. A court *de monetariis* always accompanied these mints, though they belonged to subjects (3). In these courts enquiries were made concerning all misdemeanours, and particularly

(1) Somner, Antiq. Cant. p. 65. 113. Battely Cantuar. Sacr. p. 97.

(2) See above, p. 45. alibi.

(3) See what is said above, p. 84. on the court of Gerard, archbishop of York.
Also Nicholson Hist. Libr. p. 263.

of debasement, and deficiency in weight, offences, in which the laws were extravagantly severe (1).

Mints and changes, 3dly, are relatives; and an order was expressly made by king Henry I. that no person should presume to change money but the mint-masters, and he was only to do it in his own district: ‘Præterea defendo ne aliquis monetarius denarios mutet, nisi in comitatu suo. . . . Et nullus sit ausus cambire denarios nisi monetarius (2).’ The archbishop’s exchange at Canterbury is particularly mentioned in the charter of John, adduced above (3). It was kept apart from the mint, as Mr. Somner observes, in regard of the king’s exchange there (4), but in what part of the city, ’tis now impossible to investigate.

4. I have a suspicion, and I advance it in no other shape than such, that the money of our prelates had only a currency in their respective cities, their districts or liberties; as if it was chiefly allow’d to be made for the convenience of the citizens; at least this appears to have been the case since the reign of king Stephen, as I collect from the letters patents of king John, passed in favor of the bishop of Chichester, in his 6th year, where the words are, ‘Quod habeat cuneum suum in civitate Cicestriæ, Et quod currat (5) donec nostri in eadem civitate currant, Et tunc unà cum illis currat (6),’ and seem to imply that this was the case with the *Tokens* of the 17th century, and, as Olearius informs us, of the brass money coined by the cities in Persia (7). Thus the minters were restrained above from practising exchange any where but within their respective counties. The Reader will please to judge for himself.

However, we are assur’d, 5thly, that puncheons or dies were sent from London (8) for the use of the inferior or country mints, and that a duty, called probably *Cuneagium*, or

(1) Above, p. 78.

(2) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 325. from the red book of the Exchequer.

(3) Page 89. (4) Somner, Antiq. Cant. p. 64.

(5) *Ejus nummus*, or something of like import, seems to be omitted.

(6) Blount’s *Nomo & Eizor*, v. *Cuneus*.

(7) Battely, Append. ad Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 136. and Domesday Book, cited below. Also Maitland, p. 947.

(8) Olearius’s Voyages, p. 300.

Cunagium, was paid for them to the king. Thus we have it in Domesday Book, ‘ Tit. Wirecestre, quando moneta vertebatur, ‘ quisque monetarius dabat 20 sol. ad Londinum pro cunois ‘ monetæ recipiendis (1).’ And so Sir Matthew Hales tells us, that ‘ upon every change of the coin, by the king’s proclamation, there issued out a mandate to the treasurer and barons ‘ to deliver a stamp over to these private mints, to be used by ‘ the several proprietors of them (2).’ The king delivered the stamps, and the specie is expressly called the *king’s money* (3); and, I apprehend, it is to the duty paid for the stamps that those words in the precept of 2 Hen. III. concerning the archbishop of York’s mint, inserted above, alludes, where the king says, ‘ *Salvo nobis jure nostro quod ad nos inde pertinet.*’ But you shall hear two very eminent antiquaries, bishop Nicholson and Mr. Camden, on this head: ‘ There’s another memorable passage,’ says bishop Nicholson, ‘ in one of king Henry the First’s own ordinances, relating to this subject: *Monetarium commune quod capiebatur per civitates vel comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi Regis, hoc ne à modo fiat omnino defendo*’ (4). R. Westcot (or rather Ad. Littleton) (5) translates ‘ *monetarium commune* by these words, *the common duty of money or coinage* (6); and, in his notes, guesses that the country-mints paid some such *duty* to the king’s chief mint. He proves, from Domesday-Book, that Winchester (7) paid twenty shillings for each minter, *pro cuneis monetæ accipiendis*, that is, for their dies and stamps (8). Mr. Camden writes, that king Henry II. granted liberty of coining to certaine cities and abbeies, allowing them one staple, and two pun-

(1) Spelm. Gloss. v. *Cuneus*. (2) Sir Matthew Hales’s Sheriffs Accounts.

(3) Clauf. 2 Hen. III. in 6. in Drake’s *Eboracum*, p. cvi.

(4) Vid. Cart. Hen. I. (e Matt. Paris) à Joh. Seld. Jan. Ang. lib. 2. p. 80. See M. Paris, p. 56. Ric. Hagelsted. inter x Script. Col. 311.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 180.

(6) Quære though, whether he is not mistaken in this, for *Monetarium* in Du Fresne, Col. 1010, is rather a payment to the sovereign to induce him not to alter his money, which was never done but with loss to the subject. See also Wilkins in *Gloss. ad Legg. A—Sax. in voce*.

(7) Quære, whether for *Wirecestre* above, we should not read *Winecestre*.

(8) Nicholson, Hist. Libr. p. 251.

'cheons at a rate, with certain restrictions.' And again, that Thomas, son of *Otho Cuneator*, surnamed *Fitz Othes*, 'married one of the coheires of *Beauchamp* baron of Bedford, was lord of Mendlesham in Suffolke, and held in fee to make the coyning stamps for all England: which office descended by an heire generall to the baron *Boutetort* (1), from whom, &c.' (2). The issuing of stamps from London, and the payment of a duty for them by the country mints, was the custom, it seems, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and in that of Henry I. and there was an officer, or patentee, who in these times had an exclusive right of making the stamps. And this was an excellent method of providing for the sameness of manner and uniformity of type in the king's money, notwithstanding the great number of mints distributed in different places over the whole kingdom; and the crown, at the same time, suffered less detriment and loss in privileging so many mints.

I query, sixthly, whether some portion of the profits of these private offices was not paid likewise annually to the crown under the name of *Monetarium*; we learn from M. Du Fresne that some such usage there was in foreign parts (3); but I must confess, I have not seen any explicit evidence of it in this kingdom; it was thought proper, however, to mention it as a particular to be attended to in time coming. When the mints were become the king's own, as in the year 1154, he no doubt had a share of the profits (4), and it became a branch of the royal revenue.

7thly, The country mints, it is intimated, did not coin halfpence and farthings after these began to be coined, but only pennies (5). The case indeed might be so at first, but it certainly was altered afterwards, since both Warham and Cranmer struck halfpence. The inferior mints, however, were obliged to return an account to London of the quan-

(1) See also Battely, Append. ad Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 135.

(2) Camden, Remains, p. 184. (3) Du Fresne, Gloss. in voce.

(4) Battely, Append. ad Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 141.

(5) Pinchbeck in Battely's Append. to Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi, p. 135.

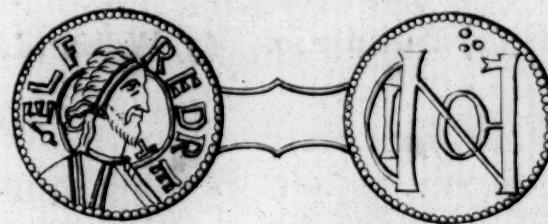
tity of specie they had wrought with every die (1). And it appears that a great deal of money was coined at the single mint of St. Edmundsbury, after the mint there became the king's office (2). I observe, lastly, that the king's mints in cities and boroughs, were under the conduct or superintendence, in some measure, of the *genega*, or portreeve, as is very evident from the laws of king Cnut (3), where this officer appears to have had a power in his city similar to that of a warden.

(1) Battely, Ibid. (2) Ibid. p. 140. (3) Wilkins, Legg. A—Sax. p. 134.

E N D O F T H E E S S A Y.

DISSERTATION I.

On a fine Penny of King ÆLFRED THE GREAT,
with his Head.



M R. Speed has delineated in his history a very fine penny of king Ælfred, and indeed one of the most elegant pieces in all the Saxon series. It was then a part of the Cottonian cabinet, but is now unhappily lost, and does not appear in the British Museum. There is on one side, the king's head, on the other, a monogram or cypher; and in the following Dissertation I propose to consider both sides, as well for the ascertaining the age of the piece and the prince to whom it belongs, as the further illustration of it.

'Tis the 9th coin in the first table of Sir Andrew Fountaine, who copied it from Speed, as likewise did Mr. Walker, in the Latin version of Sir John Spelman's Life of King Ælfred, and bishop Gibson, in Camden's Britannia, Tab. I. We are sure Speed had it from the Cotton Collection, from the direct testimony of Mr. Selden, who, after giving a print of this coin, amongst others, says, ' Ubi [i. e. in Biblioth. Cottoniana] etiam archetypa servantur unde jam efficta heic numismata sumpta (1).'

Authors are not by any means agreed to which Ælfred this penny belongs, there being two of that name; one, who is said to have been a learned prince, king of Deira, A. 666, who retired, A. 670, was restored and made king of North-

(1) Selden, Titles of Honour, p. 171. Edit. 1631.

umberland,

umberland, A. 685, and died A. 705; the other, Ælfred the Great, monarch of England, who acceded A. 872, and died A. 900.

'Tis a matter of consequence that coins, whether Saxon or others, should be appropriated to their true owners; for till then they must lose more than half their use, as very little that is certain and satisfactory can be learnt from them. Mr. Selden, for instance, collects the form of the diadem worn by the excellent monarch, Ælfred the Great, from the obverse of this coin (1), but his observation would be entirely groundless, should the piece prove to be the property of any other sovereign.

Speed gives the coin to Ælfred the Great, and is followed therein by Mr. Selden (2), Mr. Thwaites (3), and Mr. Hearne (4); but on the other hand, Mr. Walker (5), Mr. Thoresby (6), and Sir Andrew Fountaine, all incline to confer it upon Ælfred, king of Northumberland. This last triumvirate were most conversant in medallic affairs, and the most experienced connoisseurs, wherefore they ought in reason to be the best judges of this controversy; but one objection there is to their opinion so obvious, and at the same time so forcible, that I shall here mention it directly, viz. that we have no piece, either of the heptarchical, or the prelatical tribe, (for the monarchical is out of the question) that is so old as the year 705, when Ælfred king of Northumberland died; for which reason alone, were there no others to induce, I should lean to Mr. Speed's party, and be for ascribing a piece, so terse as this, and so far exceeding the taste of the rough Northumbrians in that unpolish'd age, when Ælfred king of Deira flourished, to the renowned monarch king Ælfred, in whose time the arts and sciences began to dawn. But there are other concurring reasons that may drive one into this way of thinking.

As first, that the countenance of the prince is like that of the great Ælfred, of Wessex. Walker indeed remarks, that

(1) Selden, l. c. (2) Selden, l. c.

(3) Thwaites, Notæ in A—Sax. Nummos.

(4) Hearne, in Sir John Spelm. Life of Ælfred, p. 164.

(5) Walker in Lat. Version of Sir John Spelm. Life of Ælfred, and the last Edition of Camden. (6) Thoresby, in Camden.

the head upon the coin does *not correspond* to that of the West Saxon; but 'tis certain that people judge very differently of likenesses. However, I will not pretend to say, that one ought to lay much stress on such an argument as this, did it stand alone, on account of the difference of men's judgments in respect of likeness; as likewise on account of the infant state which the arts of painting and engraving were in, when this coin was minted (1), but it may have its weight nevertheless in conjunction with the rest. It must be confess'd too, that this being the only piece yet publish'd, that exhibits the head of Ælfred the Great, no judgment can be form'd from the coins; but then there are other methods of information: Speed's type, which is authentic, has a sufficient resemblance and correspondence, in my eye at least, with the form of this king's visage represented in an ancient painting in University College, Oxford, in two old stone busts at Brazen-Nose, in the window of All-Souls, and in the church of St. Alban's (2). And accordingly I find that Mr. Hearne, in the place above cited, infers, from the similitude between the coin and those ancient portraits, that it ought to be ascribed to Ælfred the Great, in preference to the other Ælfred of Northumberland. I will note here what our historians relate concerning the handsome person of Ælfred the Great. Florence of Worcester tells us, ‘Cunctis fratribus forma decentior, vultu, verbis, atque moribus gratosior videbatur (3).’ Matthew of Westminster has much the same (4), as likewise Affer Menevensis (5), whom the foregoing authors in a great measure transcribe. This great prince had so great a regard for his person, that when, on a certain occasion, he pray'd to have a distemper chang'd, he desired to have such an one, ‘ut corporaliter exterius illa infirmitas non appareret, ne despectus et inutilis esset (6).’

2dly, The use of cyphers or monograms was entirely unknown in the western parts, at least upon the coins, till the

(1) Walker in Camden, Tab. I. No. 24. IV. No. 1. 5. 8. 16.

(2) Tab. I. & II. in Walker's Lat. Version of Sir John Spelm. Life of Ælfred, and in the excellent edition of Affer Menev. by Mr. Wise, in frontispiece. Also p. 1, and p. 164.

(3) Florent. Vigorn. p. 587. (4) Matth. Westm. p. 167.

(5) Affer Menev. p. 16. (6) Florent. Vig. p. 558. M. Westm. p. 167.

time of Charlemagne; we have no example of any that are older than that emperor, who succeeded his father A. 768, and died A. 815, but they are frequent upon his coins (1). 'Tis reported of this great emperor of the Franks, that he made use of a monogram in signing all kinds of instruments, and likewise caused his cypher to be engraved upon a chalice, which Lewis le Debonnaire, his son, afterwards gave to St. Medard. 'From that time,' says my author, 'they began, in imitation of the emperor, to use cyphers in France more generally. Eginhard relates, that Charlemagne could not write, that he tried in vain to learn, after he was advanced in years, and that this was the reason that he used a monogram, which was easy to make, when he had occasion to sign any thing, ut imperitiam hanc honesto ritu suppleret, monogrammatis usum, loco proprii signi, invexit. A great many bishops of those times were forced to make use of a monogram for the same reason (2).' Eginhard further informs us concerning this emperor, 'Amabat peregrinos, et eorum suscipiendorum magnam habebat curam, adeo ut eorum multitudo non solum palatio, verum etiam regno non immerito videretur onerosa; He was fond of strangers, and took great care to have them properly received, insomuch that the great number of them became a burthen not only to the court, but also to the kingdom (3).' Amongst the rest that flock'd to the emperor's court, was Egbert the Great, the first English monarch, who liv'd twelve years with him (4); and probably when he returned from his court, which was in the year 800, he brought along with him into England this method of writing by cyphers, which is first seen upon his coins (5). If cyphers then were not introduced into this kingdom till the year 800, a coin with a monogram upon its postic, like this of ours, cannot reasonably be ascribed to any of the heptarchical princes; or, in other words, can never appertain to Ælfred of Northumberland, but must of necessity belong to Ælfred the monarch. This, methinks, is a case clear enough, and yet Mr. Walker manages it so, as to draw an argument from the monogram in favour of Ælfred of North-

(1) M. Le Blanc, p. 90. (2) Le Blanc, l. c. Pere Daniel, Tom. I. p. 515.

(3) Eginhard, Vit. Car. M. p. 110. (4) Rapin, Vol. I. p. 62.

(5) Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. VIII.

umberland : These are his words, ‘ He seems by the cypher or monogram on the reverse, to have been the king of North-umberland (the face not corresponding to that of Ælfred the West Saxon). He murdered his true and lawful prince, A. 765, and himself was expelled also. He is said to have been very learned : to shew which, it may be, he stamped that monogram on the reverse : (after the example of divers Constantinopolitan emperors, but not after those of the Franks) which was begun by Charles the Great, &c.’ This passage is certainly very perplexed ; for first, the short history which the learned author here gives of the Northumbrian Ælfred, belongs to Alred, who put Mollen-Adelwald to death, A. 765, and not to Ælfred, who being the natural son of Oswy, was associated by him in the kingdom, and, after some turns of fortune, died possessed of the throne. The occasion of this error was, I conceive, the name of Ælfred being spelt by Florence of Worcester, Alfridus, which comes very near to Alfridus, as the other prince is called by that historian. In the next place, I do not understand how Charles the Great could begin to use monograms, when the Constantinopolitan emperors are acknowledged to have had them before ; if he meant to say, that Charlemagne *began them in the West*, this will not very well consist with this fact, whether we understand Mr. Walker as speaking of Ælfred or Alred, for they were both of them before Charlemagne. Further, let the Northumbrian princes, either of them or both, be as learned as you please, I cannot admit that the West Saxon Ælfred, who was one of the best scholars of his time, came behind them in the least : But the greatest misfortune of all is, that the origine of cyphers in the West, being owing to a person that could not write, is itself an argument rather of illiteracy than of learning ; and this cypher, under present consideration, containing, as we apprehend, and shall evince in the sequel, the name of the place of coinage, is rather the act and contrivance of the mint-master, than of the prince, for which reason there is no force at all in this gentleman’s argument from the great learning of the Northumbrian Ælfred.

Another, no contemptible, method of investigating the true owner of this coin, is thirdly, from the place where it was minted.

minted. Thus Mr. Walker, thinking he discern'd some part of the word *Northumbriæ* in the ligature on the reverse, ascribed it on that account, in conjunction with other reasons, to Ælfred the learned king of that province (1). On the other hand, those gentlemen who conceive this piece to have been struck at Norwich, and do interpret the monogram in that manner, are inclined for that reason to give it to Ælfred the Great; so Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Hearne. The argument is equally conclusive either way; for should it have been minted any where in the northern parts, belonging to the kingdom of Northumberland, an Antiquarian may reasonably conclude it belong'd to a prince of that nation; for though Ælfred the Great might be *in effect* sovereign of that kingdom, yet there is no proof that either he, or the monarchs his predecessors, ever coined any money there. So on the contrary, should the coin prove to have been made in any town within the southern tract of this island, where Ælfred of Northumberland never can be supposed to have had any power or authority, in this case, the presumption will be exceeding strong in favor of Ælfred the Great, who is the only prince of the name that can possibly be imagined to have coined it. After this observation on the nature of the argument, I insist, referring the proof of the thing to the next paragraph, that this coin was struck in the south parts of the island; whether at Norwich or not, shall be considered below; all I affirm here is, that it was minted out of the territories of any Northumbrian prince, and must consequently belong to Ælfred the Great.

Now the knowledge of the place of coinage depends entirely on the monogram of the reverse, which therefore must be considered, and indeed stands in great need of it. Mr. Thoresby and Sir Andrew Fountaine decline meddling with it, but Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Walker enter the lists boldly. Walker imagines it an abbreviation of the word *Northumberland*, in Saxon *Norð-þýmbaland*, or *Norðan-þýmbna* *nice*; ‘Quâ *Northumbriæ* quidpiam significari videtur,’ says he (2); and again, ‘the tenth Ælfred seems, by the cypher or monogram on the

(1) Walker, on Tab. IV. No. 19. in Lat. Vers. of Spelm. Life of Ælfred; and in his Comment on the Saxon Coins in Camden.

(2) Walker, in Spelm. Life of Ælfred.

' reverse, to have been the king of Northumberland,' &c. (1). But Mr. Thwaites, nevertheless, explains it of the city of Norwich: 'The cypher in the reverse,' says he, 'may be deciphered *LIVITas NOR^DVIL* ;' and he is so fortunate, I observe, as to meet with the approbation of Mr. Hearne (2), who calls it an ingenious guess, and on the strength thereof alleges this coin as a proof, that the city of Norwich was either repaired after some devastation, or else had some addition made to it, by king *Ælfred*. But though it should be allowed that *Ælfred* the Great was a mighty builder or restorer of towns (3), and even improved the fortifications of Norwich castle (4), which however is doubtful, yet no works of his at Norwich can be inferred from this penny, as it has nothing of the nature of a medal in it, and is only a common coin; wherefore though Mr. Thwaites should have enucleated the cypher rightly and justly, all that would follow would only be, that the piece was minted at Norwich. But I shall prove this interpretation to be all a groundless and random conjecture, as well as that other of Mr. Walker; which done, I shall propose, with all becoming deference and diffidence, an explication of my own.

These cyphers on reverses, as appears from three pennies of Charlemagne (5), are composed sometimes of the king's or emperor's names; even though the name be written at length on the obverse of the same piece. Nevertheless, I can agree readily with Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Walker, that by the cypher in this piece, the name of the place where it was coined was intended to be express'd. There are many examples in Mons. Le Blanc of that name's being placed in the area of reverses, and even in a monogrammatical form. That the case is so here is abundantly clear from a similar coin, both as to the obverse and reverse, of the late Dr. Mead, where the reverse is thus,



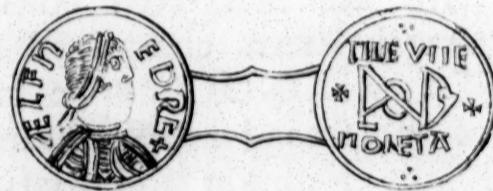
(1) Walker, in Cambd.

(2) After Menev. p. 58. Flor. Vigorn. p. 592, 593.

(3) As also of the Compiler of the History of the City and County of Norwich, 1768. 8vo. p. 6. (4) Hist. of Norwich, p. 6. (5) Le Blanc, p. 88.

Here,

Here, you observe, the minter has taken care to put his name, *Ælfstan*, along with the cypher, from whence it is very evident, that the name of the place of coinage must be denoted by the cypher; nothing else can possibly be signified by it. Whence I infer, that our cypher, which so much resembles this of Dr. Mead's, must be designed for the same purpose, though the name of the minter happens here to be, by some means or other, omitted (1). In further confirmation of this, I beg leave to observe, that a coin also in most admirable preservation, of which my most respectable friend Mr. Duane has been pleased to favour me with the following plate, exhibits likewise the minter's name, with the monogram, viz. TILEVINE above, and MONETA below. This name, on a fine coin of Egbert, in the possession of the same most worthy and communicative gentleman, is written TILVVINE, a particular which I mention for the sake of ascertaining the reading of it on the former piece.



The question then is, whether the ancient name of Northumberland, or of the city of Norwich, be contained in the monogram. Mr. Thwaites reads it LIVITas NORðVIL, but they must have better eyes than I, that can find above half of those letters in this cypher. N and O are visible, but who can discover R D V L, letters highly essential in the full name of this city; the first at least is. And in a cypher of this antiquity, to denote to us the Saxon name of the city of Norwich, the least one could expect would be NOR, for with fewer than them, the designation of the place would be vague and deficient. For the same reason I reject the other conjecture of Mr. Walker's, *Northumbriæ*, for here again we may reasonably expect the letters NORð or NOR, and yet we don't perceive an R in the cypher.

(1) Quære, Whether the Cotton-Penny had not the minter's name, but being much defaced, or perhaps illegible, Speed was obliged to omit it?

Now in regard of what I have to offer, in lieu of the subverted and disproved interpretations of these gentlemen, I observe first, that the reverse in Speed, from whom all the other authors have taken it, appears to me to be turned upside down; this I gather from the reverse of Dr. Mead's and Mr. Duane's pennies given above, where the letters of the mint-master's names plainly shew that the upright should be thus,



I apprehend next, that the parallel line which connects the first upright stroke with O, is erroneously added, either in Speed's type, or in the original, Dr. Mead's coin and Mr. Duane's wanting that transverse line. 3dly, that these ancient cyphers generally begin with the first letter on the left hand (1). Wherefore the several letters comprised in this monogram seem to be LONDI or LONDCI, to be interpreted, the first LONDInium, and the second LONDInium CIvitas; I prefer the latter, as CI is a common abbreviation of Civitas (2), which, in the barbarous Latinity, signified the town with its buildings; a sense which it perpetually obtains upon the coins (3). It will be allow'd, that one stroke or line in a monogram may serve to two purposes; this being a kind of principle, upon which the combination or alligation of letters, in this short and concise way of writing, is in a manner founded; therefore we are not to wonder, that the curve should both be a portion of D, and also be a C turned backward; the inverting of a letter is a liberty which the monogrammatist will often claim to be indulged. I am aware of no objection to this method of analysing the cypher, except that the city of London at this period of time was usually written with U, and even on the coins: But to this I reply; though the Saxons

(1) Le Blanc. p. 88. 92.

(2) Le Blanc. passim. Sir A. Fount. ix. S. Petri moneta, No. 6. II. Athelstan, No. 2.

(3) Le Blanc, p. 30. Lord Pembr. Part IV. Tab. 2. Sir A. Fount. Tab. IX.

currently wrote it with U (1), yet in Latin the name was commonly given with O, so Tacitus (2), the Itinerary (3), the anonymous geographer of Ravenna (4), Venerable Bede (5), and the monks many of them (6), and the language of the coins was at this time very often Latin; and it is remarkable, that on three coins of king Æthelstan, the grandson of our Ælfred, we find the name of the city of London written with O; and on two of them, it is described in the same language, with the same abbreviation, and the very same number of letters, as in our latter exposition, LOND CI (7), which I esteem a great confirmation of the truth of it. I am sensible there is much room for fancy in resolving monograms, and therefore do not pretend to controul or prescribe to the judgment of others: Gentlemen have the same liberty to dissent from me, and to indulge their own imaginations, as I have assumed in departing from the former expositions of Mr. Walker and Mr. Thwaites. All therefore that I propose is, to offer a conjecture, which, I am persuaded, will appear to be *plausible to some*; and, should it be true, will prove to us, in conjunction, however, with the other evidence before given, that the coin was made at London, and consequently was a penny of Ælfred the Great, and not of Ælfred of Northumberland. It was coined probably by Ælfstan, who, as it should seem from the beauty of the piece, was one of the king's best workmen.

Having thus clearly and fully, as we hope, assured the coin to Ælfred the Great, we may descant with some certainty on the ornaments of our king's heads, as used in the Saxon ages. Mr. Hearne would willingly make the diadem, as it appears here, an argument for attributing the piece to this monarch: 'Not now to infist,' says he, 'upon the wreath which incircles the head, and is more agreeable to the times of Ælfred the Great, than those of Ælfred king of Northumberland; and for that reason Mr. Selden, in his Titles of Honour, mentions

(1) Chron. Sax. *passim*. Bishop Gibson, *there*. Lambarde, *Top. Diq.*

(2) Tacitus, *Annal. xiv.* 33. (3) Antonini *Itinerar. passim*.

(4) Raven. p. 808. Edit. Gronov. (5) Beda, I. 29. II. 3.

(6) Usserii *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 32. 38. Hearne in *Sel. Itin. viii.* in Append. p. 35. Maitland's *History of London*, p. 17.

(7) Sir Andrew Fountaine, II. No. 2. 4.

‘ it as his, and places it amongst his other observations concerning coronation in the western parts after the times of Charles the Great (1).’ But the argument is, surely, very weak; for the older the prince, the more likely are we to find the plain fillet or diadem; Mr. Hearne does himself acknowledge as much, p. 200, where Sir John Spelman having delivered himself thus, ‘ I know not why we may not conjecture that the king (being by the return of his East-India ship stored with many eastern stones, and by his especial industry upon that occasion provided also of workmen) probably fell upon the composing of an imperial crown, which though not of the form, &c.’ He comments upon it, ‘ this does not appear from any author but Harpsfield; nor from his coins, in which his head is circled with a simple diadem after the common and *ancientest* fashion, in other countries.’ But though this ornament will not serve the purpose Mr. Hearne would have it, by contributing to fix the coin to Ælfred the Great, in preference to Ælfred of Northumberland, yet we learn from it, that the plain diadem was now used. And I am well persuaded, that the monarchs of England in these times had no such thing as an imperial crown. This coin is a good evidence as to king Ælfred, especially if it was minted at the end of his reign, as, to judge from the visage, one would think it was; and his son Edward, I observe, has just such another fillet upon his head. Surely, if these two great and flourishing princes wore not a close imperial crown, one has no reason to think that any of the monarchs, their predecessors, did.

Before I finally dismiss this curious penny, I shall beg leave to make one observation more; a small matter, indeed, of itself, but will be attended with consequences of some significance. Gentlemen incline to take the mark, in the area of the obverse, to be the finishing letter of the legend or inscription, which they conceive to be, ÆLFRED REX, but I have not observed such common words as REX running on in this manner into the middle of a coin (2); I don’t recollect a single

(1) Hearne, in Spelm. Life of Ælfred, p. 164.

(2) The case is very different in the prelatical coin of Vigmund, mentioned in the Essay, p. 55.

instance of the sort, on the contrary, RE for REX, even where there is good room for the last letter, is frequent (1). In other cases, where there is not space sufficient for the whole stile, the masters cut as much as they can, and omit the rest, as in Camden, Tab. I. 15. 34. II. 27. III. 19, &c. and will sometimes leave a letter unfinish'd, as is often done even in the specie of William the Conqueror. I am of opinion, to be brief, that we ought to seek for a different meaning in respect of this mark, and that it was intended for *a Cross*. Very few of the Saxon coins ever want the cross; it would have been thought *impious in those days* to omit that most essential object of religion: Perhaps they imagine withal, it might have some influence on their dealings, by rendering men more just and honest; or at least, that it might contribute to secure the specie from clipping, or other fraudulent practices. But whatever the reasons for it might be, it was almost a general rule for the cross to make its appearance somewhere on the Saxon specie; it was certainly so in this reign, and the next, and is always placed in the area of the piece (2). But the usual place being occupied in this penny by the king's head on one side, and by the monogram on the other, the engraver thought fit to put the excluded cross into that corner. For that the mark in question is an imperfect cross, and intended for such, appears from a similar mark on a coin of Ethelred II. (3), and on another of Cnut (4); see also Brenner's Thesaur. Numm. Sueo-Goth, Tab. V. Albertus, No. 1. 2. 4. The mark being, in these examples, thrust into an angle or corner, there was not room for a perfect decussation. In No. 7. of Sir A. Fountaine's first table, the cross is entirely wanting on the head side, for the same reason, viz. because the area is filled with other matters, but then there are no less than three on the reverse. But there is none on the reverse of the piece under consideration.

Now the cross so universally prevailing on our ancient money, and generally very conspicuously on the specie of Ælfred and Edward, has given occasion to many allusions and proverbial sayings amongst us, some of which it may not be improper or

(1) Camden, Tab. I. No. 21, 22.

(2) Except one piece of Edward, No. 51, in Sir A. Fountaine.

(3) Sir A. Fountaine, No. 30. (4) Ibid. No. 20.

unpleasing to mention. The tossing up *Cross and Pile* (1), is a game of chance very commonly used, yet I don't remember to have seen any where a rational solution of the terms. 'Tis a game of antiquity, being mentioned by Aur. Victor (2), and Macrobius (3), but much older than their times, as is plain from their accounts of it. 'Tis generally play'd with money, but in regard to a great deal of our present specie, whereon there is no cross any where, the name of this pastime, though well enough understood as to its meaning, is extremely improper, and as to the reason and ground of it, unintelligible. In regard to another part of our present coin, where there is a cross on the reverse, the expression is still more improper, and even absurd, for by the cross we always mean the headside or obverse of a piece, and by *pile* the reverse; and yet ever since the Norman Conquest, and before, the large cross has always (to speak in general) been placed on the reverses. For the original of the phrase we must therefore recur to the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, when, as appears from the coins of Ælfred the Great and Edward the Elder, the large cross was the obverse of the coin, and occupied generally the place of the king's head. At this time, the expression was plain and proper, as consistent with the form and fashion of the coins; the coins and the phrase mutually explaining one another. But what is *pile*? This seems to be involved in more difficulty than the former, and indeed of a later extraction. I suppose we borrowed this from the French (4); and as to the meaning of it, M. Menage writes, 'Quant au mot *Pile* pour le revers de lay monnoye, j'ay appris des memoires du Sieur de Clerac, sur les anciens poids et monnoyes de Guyenne, qui m'ont esté communiquez manuscrits par M. du Puy, qu'il auroit pris son origine de la figure d'une Pile couchée sous les armes de la ville de Bourdeaux, et qui estioit empeinte sur le revers du sou Bourdelois (5).' He says, it took its name from a pile placed under the arms of the city of Bourdeaux put on the reverses of their money.

(1) Dodslēy's Plays, IX. p. 351. (2) Aur. Victor. de Orig. Gent. Rom. c. 3.

(3) Macrobius Saturn. I. 7.

(4) Andr. Schottus ad Aur. Victor. loco citato. Menage, Origines de la Langue Franc. v. Pilote. (5) Menage, Ibid.

The cross again was no casual mark or ornament, but intended to be a real representation of the Cross of Christ, as appears from the word *CRVX* on several of the pennies of Ethelred II. Cnut, &c. and that our authors, and customs, and forms of speech, are perpetually alluding to it in that sense. So *Pierce Ploughman*, *Passus 15.* fol. *LXXXV.*

‘ The crowne stands in golde
 ‘ Both ryche and religious, that *rode* they honour
 ‘ That in *grotes* is graven, and in *nobles*,
 ‘ For covetous of that *Croffe*, men of holy kirke.
 ‘ Shal turn as Templars did,’ &c.

Hence arose afterwards the custom of swearing by the cross upon the coin, as Dodoley's old Plays, Vol. III. p. 28. “ All the while his money is losing, he swears by the *Cross of this Silver*, and when it is gone, he changeth it to the *Hilts of his Sword*;” and p. 30. “ Yes, this is the first game; but by the *Cross of this Silver*, here's all of five pounds.” From hence too, comes the saying of *the Devil's dancing in people's pockets*, when they are empty, viz. because then there was no *cross* there, which, as was then believ'd, would infallibly keep him out. This is the genuine meaning of this expression, for in Lylie's Euphues. p. 148, we have these remarkable words, “ But now my barrell of gold, which pride set abroach, love began to set a tilt, which in short time ran so on the lees, that *the Devil daunced in the bottome*, where he found never a *Croffe*.” So the Poet Skelton, p. 71.

‘ and his pouche
 ‘ The Devyll might *dance therein for any crouche*.’

And Nash, in the *Supplication of Pierce Pennileſſe to the Devil*, makes Pierce say, “ Where as your impious Excellence hath had the poore tenement of his purse any time this halfe yeare for your dauncing schole, and he (notwithstanding) hath received no penye nor croffe for farme,” &c. Cross here means generally *a piece of money*, for the same reason; as also it does in the declaration of the frontispiece to Dr. Fuller's *Holy War.*

- First Europe bids your observation stay
- Upon a purse of gold (warre's surest nerve)
- Whose ev'ry Crosse is interest'd to serve
- I'th' holy warre. The gain, alas ! no more
- Then crosses gules instead of croffes or.'

Hence too comes the *crossing the hand of a gypſie*, mentioned in the *Spectator*, No. 130. by which is meant, putting a *piece of money* into her hand, without which she will not utter her predictions. Hence also we say, *a man has not a penny to bless himself with*, and, *he has not a cross in his pocket*. Cross stands for money in general, in Skelton, p. 72.

— ‘I have no Coyne or Crosse
and p. 205.

‘Of a Peny, nor of a Crosse.’

And so Nash, p. 4, ‘For any *croſſes*, images or pictures that I carry about me,’ meaning money. See him also, p. 7.

To make an end, Sir Roger, in the *Scornful Lady*, A. I. calls Welford’s christian name his *Badge of Christianity*. He answers, wittily,

‘What’s that, a Cross? There’s a Tester.’

END OF THE FIRST DISSERTATION.

D I S S E R T A T I O N II.

On Mr. Thoresby's famous Unic, supposed to be a Coin of St. EDWIN, shewing it to be a Penny of EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, wherein a Plan for re-engraving Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables of the Saxon Coins is inserted.

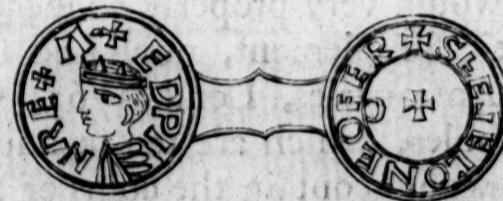
I Have often thought, that the re-engraving of Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables of the Anglo-Saxons coins, which are now crowded at the end of a large work of Dr. Hickes's (1), with his Commentary, and those of other gentlemen who have either occasionally, or professedly, contributed to their illustration, would prove a work both useful and entertaining. Such a design would very properly connect with Mr. Folkes's plates, and their Supplement, published by the gentlemen of the society of Antiquaries, Lond. 1763, Quarto. And if to Sir Andrew's Tables, which are ten in number, as many more were added, as would contain the coins of that series discovered since the year 1705, with the necessary comments, by way of supplement, the money affairs of this nation would receive all the light and all the ornament they may seem to be capable of, and would be in a manner complete.

The design, it must be confess'd, is large and extensive, and would require some learning and some application; as the undertaker ought to give an account of the performances of the several gentlemen that have gone before him, Mr. Speed, Mr. Walker, Mr. Thoresby, Sir A. Fountaine, Mr. Thwaites, &c. as likewise to prefix some necessary preliminary dissertations; on the usefulness of the work in general; on the several methods employed for determining with certainty to what reign

(1) *Thesaurus Ling. vett. Septentr. Tom. II.*

the respective pieces belong; on the materials of which the Saxon specie consisted, with the different denominations thereof, either as used in account, or in actual payments, and on the manner of disbursing larger sums; on the weight and workmanship of the coins, the number of the mints, and the places where they were fixed; in whom the power of coining was anciently vested, and more especially the rank and condition of the mint-masters, whom, there is reason to think, our authors are perpetually misrepresenting.

These, and the like amusing and necessary particulars, ought to be previously discuss'd; and then as to the distribution of the work, the several coins of every reign ought to be brought together into one plate and placed at the head of the reign, and every piece numbered. Supposing then the celebrated unio of Mr. Thoresby's, which he, with the approbation of many gentlemen, confers upon St. Edwin, and esteems it the oldest penny extant, to be the 48th piece of Edward the Confessor, as we hope to prove it to be, the commentaries upon it may be placed thus, according to the order of time.



48. R. T. (1).

Walker on Camden, Tab. IV. 38.

"The 38th is *Edwin Rex*; this seems to have been the glorious king of the Northumbers. . . . his conversion fell out in the year of Christ 627. The reverse is *Sefwel on Eoferwic*."

Sir Andrew Fountaine.

"EDVIN REX in aversa parte, SEEVEL ON (de) EOFEP-wic, hodie York. Censet Walkerus hunc nummum spectare ad Edwinum Northumbriæ regem; quod si verum sit, Saxonico-

(1) These, the initials of Mr. Ralph Thoresby's name, are added, to shew the authority of the coin.

rum omnium nummorum, quos novimus, antiquissimus est.
Vid. Num. 38. Tab. 8væ. (1) in Britannia Camdeniana."

Mr. Thwaites.

" SEEVEL. ON EOFORþIC, Seevel of York. Hinc Saviliorum familia, siquidem Eboracensis per ætates fuerit."

Mr. Thoresby on Camd. Tab. IV. 38.

" EDV(W)IN REX Anglorum. Reverse, SEEVEL ON EOFERþIC.
This most rare piece is justly supposed to be the ancientest of any piece now in being of the English nation; and *Seevel* (2), the nobleman upon the reverse, may very well be presum'd to be one of the ancestors of the ancient and honourable family of the *Saviles*, of which Sir *John*, afterwards lord *Savile*, and father to the earl of *Sussex*, was the first alderman of *Leeds*, which place had been the seat of the kings of *Northumberland*, after this *Edwin's* martyrdom by the Pagans, &c. (3)."

Mr. Franc. Drake. Eborac. Append. p. ciii. & civ.

" Under the Saxon government in Britain, we have undoubted testimony of a mint at York, both in their heptarchical division of this kingdom, and under their universal monarchy. Nor were the Danish kings amongst us so long, without leaving us several such evidences as the former. In the heptarchy, though I have great reason to ascribe every coin, the Northumbrian kings struck, to be done at York; yet I have been so cautious, as to take and engrave none, but what have the name of the city evidently upon them. The first which I think proper to mention, though it stands at No. 29. in the plate, is the coin of *Edwin the Great*. This curious piece is represented in Sir Andrew Fountaine's Tables, at the end of Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus Linguarum*, &c. Tab. VIII. and in the last edition of *Camden*, Tab. IV. No. 38. It is *an unic* of

(1) 4tæ.

(2) *Scula* was a minter of Edward Confessor, at York, as I learn from a coin of Mr. White's, found near Peterborough, A. 1759, and quære whether he be not the same person, under a different orthography, with *Seevel* or *Sceuel*.

(3) See also Thoresby's Museum, p. 140.

of very great rarity and worth; being the ancientest coin of the Saxon money, known to the connoisseurs in this way. It is probable this coin was struck at York, after Edwin became universal monarch; the inscription EDVIN REX A. or Edwin Reg. Anglorum implying no less. Bede informing us, that he was the first Saxon monarch who stiled himself king of *Englishmen*. On the reverse of this fair coin is read SEEVEL ON EOFERwic, or Sevel, (the mint-master) at York. I shall not follow my countryman, honest Mr. Thoresby's notion, in ascribing the great antiquity of the name and family of *Savile* in Yorkshire, to this mint-master; that ancient family needing no such strained efforts to denote its antiquity. I shall only take notice, how early the Saxon began to corrupt the *Roman* name *Eboracum*, and barbarize it into their own dialect. This name however stuck to the city, with little variation, quite through the *Saxon* government in this island.

In this order the annotations, already printed, may be commodiously placed; after which the new commentator, who would succeed these expert medalists, with any tolerable degree of applause, ought in the first place to deliver the characteristics of every reign, so far as it can be done; that is, he should specify the *manner* of every prince's money, the orthography of his name, the form of the letters then in use, with every other particular peculiar to that age, or that may serve to appropriate the money to that prince with certainty; a point of the first and most important consequence. He ought also to have regard to the homonymous princes, their age, and the figure or manner of their respective coins. After this, he will think it needful to travel through the several pieces one by one, remarking the observables, clearing the difficulties, rectifying the mistakes of his predecessors where there are any, and doing every thing, in short, that may contribute to the illustration of the piece, or make his work perfect. In the reign before us I can conceive him proceeding in some such manner as this that follows.

"The specie of Edward the Confessor is very plentiful. Mr. Walker engraved a great many more than he was aware of, for as he no where fluctuates more than in this reign, he wrongs the prince every now and then, by giving his money away

away from him. He had seen, however, more than he has engrav'd. Sir A. Fountaine has adjudged 47 to this Edward, and I have reason to believe is right in every single piece; and indeed now we are come down so near the Norman Conquest, one may expect the greater clearness and certainty; such notes and marks, as may ascertain the coins to their proper owners with confidence and assurance.

" It was not consistent with Sir Andrew's intended brevity to give reasons; but it may be proper for us to do it here, that gentlemen may see upon what grounds of evidence the money of the Confessor stands. This task is, moreover, become perfectly necessary, by reason that Mr. Thoresby, since Sir Andrew wrote, has very unfortunately unsettled and perplexed this affair.

" The Confessor's money is of nine sorts. The general marks that runs through them all are, first, a modern way of spelling either in the first or second, and sometimes in both the syllables of his name, *Eadward*, *Edwaerd*, *Edward*, *Ed-werd*, according to the observation of the late most learned bishop of London, in his Preface to the Saxon Chronicle; where observing that the history of the transactions in those annals, from the death of king Ælfred to the Confessor's age, was penned by persons who had an exact knowledge of them, and consequently were living in the times; he has these words,

' Rem eandem confirmant virorum nomina; quæ non alio modo in *Chronico Saxonico* scribuntur, quam incisa in numis
' matis conspicimus: quod vero Idioma Saxonicum in ea parte
' quæ vitas tradit *Hardacnuti* ac *Edwardi Confessoris*, haud
' parum immutari incipit, ac rejectis vocalibus, syllabis item
' quibusdam, ad nostrum efferendi morem paullatim vergere,
' id etiam pro nobis facit. Iis enim temporibus revera mutari
' cœpisse, testem habemus Edwardi Confessoris numisma, in
' quo regis istius nomen EDPARD exeratur; cum tamen
' nominis origo et antiqua scriptio EADPEARD postulent.
' Ejusdem numismatis pars aversa, in qua LEFPINE scriptum
' conspicitur pro LEOFPINE, idem testatur.' The coin his lordship refers to, is in Camden, II. 18. where the postic has LEFPINE, and I am of opinion the same name, with the
same

faine orthography, ought to be restored to Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. VI. *Eadward I.* where at present it is read REFPINE. It is not to be supposed, that the old way of writing was left off universally, and every where, in an instant; it was probably a work of time; wherefore it is sufficient for the present purpose to say, they began at this time to innovate; otherwise we have LEOFENOD and LIEFNOD and LEOFRIC in this reign, and LEOFPIKE and LEOFRIC in the next. The king's name on the face-side of the coin his lordship points at, is, EADPARD, as it is on the Confessor's broad seal (1); but the argument and the observation is not the less just, since the latter syllable, though not the former, is modern, and that upon other pennies we have it *Edward* and *Edward*. These approximations to the present mode of spelling being found agreeable to that part of the Saxon Chronicle, which the Right Rev. Editor with great reason esteems to have been penned in the Confessor's own age, will go a good way in appropriating these coins to him. Before, we have it always without variation, *Eadwig* and *Eadgar*; and in those 25 pieces, which ought to be attributed to Edward the Elder, and which carry a quite different aspect from these in every respect, the name is invariably written *Eadweard*, and so the Saxon Chronicle. I add, that we may expect to find it given in the same manner, whenever we have the pleasure of handling any money of Edward the Martyr, the successor of king Edgar, for the Chronicle always calls him *Edweard*. As for the termination *weard*, which is the most ancient and genuine; and offers itself, as was just now remarked, on all the coins of Edw. I. I discover it not once in All this numerous tribe of coins. We have something like it, 'tis true, in Sir Andrew Fountaine, IV. 5. and in that of Camden, II. 26.. but in the other pieces the run is so general in the more modern way, and that not only in the king's name, but in the mint-master's *Elfweard*; that they are not to be accounted of; the broad seal has it also on both sides *ward*.

(1) Speed's History. It would be proper for the Commentator, who may have occasion to allege this seal for other purposes, to cause it to be engraved.

" The next general remark relates to the Saxon P or W, which occurs but once in the whole specie of Edward the Elder, viz. Camden, IV. 17. but here universally, except the postic of Sir Andrew Fountaine, VII. 43. and the broad seal. This character, which by the way is nothing but V closed at first at the top ∇ (1), and afterwards rounded for expedition and neatness P, (the V with the Saxons and Romans having mostly the sound and power of W) came not into use upon the coins till the age of Ethelred II. brother and successor of Edward II. and consequently all the Edward-Coins exhibiting this character must appertain to Edward III. or the Confessor.

" I observe next, that the king's stile is *Edward Rex Anglorum*, which appearing upon many of these pieces, not only assures the particular and individual coins to be the Confessor's, but all the rest likewise of the same make and fabric. The broad seal has on both sides *Anglorum Basileus*, and not one penny of Edward the Elder presents us with this full stile.

" The reverses, in the fourth place, have most of them a cross with double lines of some sort or other, for the better direction of the sheers in dividing the penny into two or four parts, in order to make halfpence and farthings. This double-lin'd cross was first used in Ethelred the II'd's time. Those pieces of the Confessor that want it, as there are seven that do, are confirm'd to this prince by certain other marks, as the sameness of the mint-masters; the full-face, which is in a manner peculiar to this reign, in respect, I mean, of the regal coins, as contradistinguish'd to the prelatical; or some other discriminative singularity; those that have the cross must belong to the Confessor, there being no such on the specie of the other Edward, or of king Edgar, the type of whose money would probably be imitated by the workmen of his son, Edward the Martyr.

" Fifthly, the inscription on the reverse runs uniformly thus, DORR ON EOFERPIc, or to that effect, which is constant in this, the next, and some reigns after the Norman Conquest.

(1) As you have it on the old seal of the church of Durham. Appendix to Dr. Smith's Edition of Bede, p. 721. and in Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. VIII. Ludica.

Gentlemen, here and there, have adventured to depart from this English form, in reading and interpreting the legends, by reviving the old word *monetarius*. The particular cases should be discussed under the particular coins. In the mean time I shall go so far as to advance in general, that I cannot discern any manner of necessity for admitting that antiquated word in any one instance whatsoever. How different then is this epigraphe from those of Edward the Elder, where we have the mint-master's name alone, or only some abbreviation of the word *monetarius* joined to it. This mark, it is presumed, will also distinguish the Confessor's money from that of Edward the Second, as it was far from being the general vogue either in Ethelred II. or even in Cnut's reign.

" Lastly, the place of coinage is never omitted; whereas, on the contrary, it is hardly ever inserted on the money of Edward the Elder; nor have we reason to expect it often, at least not always, on the pennies of Edward the Martyr, which would resemble the money of king Edgar, whose son and successor he was.

" I have kept my eye all along in these remarks on Edw. II. as well as Edward the Elder, for the sake of giving every body satisfaction; otherwise, they are not the coins of Edward the Confessor, but some that belong to Edward the Elder, that Mr. Thoresby would bestow upon Edward the Martyr.

" It appears, upon the matter, that the pence of the three Edwards before the Conquest are with far more certainty distinguished from one another, than those of the three first after that æra are, which is chiefly owing (though not altogether) to the former Three having reigned not in succession, as the latter three did, but at some distance of time.

" These are the marks and characters which belong to all the Confessor's money in general; but besides these, the several sorts, in number nine, have notes of distinction peculiar to themselves, which, when all his specie is collected into their respective classes, and each class is considered apart, will be taken due notice of as they arise."

Here the several classes should be formed, and the individual coins reviewed, with such observations as each class and each coin

coin may afford. When the Commentator arrives at the ninth class, we may imagine him to proceed thus:

"The ninth class, or sort, is Mr. Thoresby's famous *unic* of St. Edwin, which makes at present an entire species of itself, having a radiated crown, and no scepter. The piece is curious, and well known to all the Antiquaries, as being extolled by the united suffrage, in a manner, of all our Annotators, and most able Connoisseurs, not only as *an unic*, but as the most ancient coin of the English nation. Were it of that prince these learned men ascribe it to, it would indeed be very antique, for St. Edwin, king of Northumberland, and the first Christian king of that country, whom they all consent to favor with it, (though, methinks, Sir Andrew Fountaine delivers himself with great caution about it, *quod siverum est, &c.*) was slain in the year 633, almost an whole century before any other coin extant of this series was struck. But I am strangely mistaken if this penny, notwithstanding these lofty pretensions, and its many powerful advocates, one of whom, Mr. Drake, wrote so late as A.D. 1736, does not belong to the reign of the Confessor.

" You have the king's head in profile with a radiated diadem, + EDVIN REX A. Walker and Sir Andrew omit the A, which is highly material, and is very plain upon the coin. Reverse, a small cross, with an annulet, in the area, + 6LEJEL ON EOFER.

" Edwin of Northumberland took the reins of government A. 617, before either he or his people were Christians, and indeed but few years after the arrival of Augustine the monk; and by some it will be doubted, whether the Saxon alphabet, of which two letters, P and L, appear on this coin, was even in being in that age (1). This is a violent presumption against the antiquity of this piece (to take no notice of its terseness so vastly superior to all the Northumbrian coins now remaining, not one of which affords us the effigies of their prince, not during the heptarchy at least) wherefore may we not reasonably insist, that gentlemen should give us some proof, either from coins or authors, that the Saxon letters were then

(1) See what is said on the illiterate state of the Saxons in our Essay, p. 15.

in existence, before they require our assent to their opinion in favor of St. Edwin.

"I raise the next objection from the king's stile; for though it should be allowed that *Rex Angliae* or *Anglorum* was a form sometimes used before the time of Egbert the Great, the founder of the hereditary monarchy (1), and that the Northumbrians were Angles, which by no means is clear (2), yet it is with the utmost difficulty I can grant, that Edwin king of Northumberland would be so called upon any coin; his stile probably would have been only, *Edwin Rex*; however, were there to have been any addition, there would be no grounds to expect the word *Anglorum* in the title, but *Northanhymbrorum*, just as the Mercian kings were called *Reges Merciorum*, and the Kentish princes *Reges Cantii*. This, I say, is what might most reasonably be looked for upon the money of this heptarch, for though venerable Bede makes the Pope term him *Rex Anglorum* (3), and calls him so himself (4), 'tis only a proof of the inadvertence of authors in such matters, who are but too much accustomed to use the stile and manner of their own times (5), and to put the same language into the mouths of others. Of this we have a flagrant instance in this very writer, who long before this, makes Pope Gregory call Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent, *Rex Anglorum* (6), and so styles him himself; and yet the inhabitants of that kingdom were not *Angles* but *Jutes* (7); and their kings were never called otherwise upon the coins, than *Reges Cantii*. In a charter copied by Mr. Somner (8), Offa, king of Mercia, styles himself *Rex Anglorum*, a criterion sufficient of itself, in my opinion, were there no others, to convict that piece of forgery. To be short, the case of an historian, who flourished an hundred years after the time he writes of, is certainly very different from that of a king's putting his stile on his own money, or his name in a charter, when he is to be distin-

(1) Rapin, p. 84. et Annotat. (2) Idem, p. 32. (3) Bede, p. 89. 98.

(4) Idem, p. 30. 87. 101.

(5) St. Edwin liv'd almost a whole century before Bede wrote his history.

(6) Bede, p. 72. (7) Stillingfleet, Antiq. Brit. Ch. p. 314.

(8) Somner, Append. to Antiq. of Canterb. p. 41.

guish'd.

guish'd from the other contemporary princes of the same country. This objection, drawn from the stile, will be strongly conclusive against Mr. Walker and Mr. Thoresby, who both incline to ascribe money to Ælfred king of Northumberland, because upon the reverses of the pieces some part of the name of that kingdom seemed to be expressed (1).

"Thirdly, the orthography of the king's name is modern in both its parts. Florence of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster, have *Eadwinus*, and no doubt the initial syllable in a name of such remote antiquity, ought at least to be *Ead*; but I believe his true name was *Aeduini*, as it is given us in a very ancient manuscript of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, written but two years after that venerable author's death, viz. A. 737 (2). 'Tis expressed in the same manner in a note at the conclusion of the manuscript, which note was written at the same time. There is not only *uu*, which is most agreeable to the practice of that age, but also a very singular termination in the third vowel, which is genuine Saxon, as appears from *Eaduini* upon the reverses of two coins of Eanred (3), which Mr. Thwaites is very injudiciously for correcting into *Eadwine*; and from divers, not less than forty, examples, in that valuable and authentic manuscript of Bede, to cite no other authorities. In after times, they turned this termination into *e*, but even then, where this syllable was prefixed in any compound name, the old vowel was still retained; hence we have *Wynimre*, a minter of archbishop Ceolnoth's, and *Winifr*, another minter of the abbot of St. Edmundsbury (4); and hence the vulgar names of *Winifrid*, *Winibald*, &c. These things considered, is it not exceeding strange, that *Aeduini*, or we will say *Aeduine*, we should meet with the curtail'd name, *Edwin*, on a coin of this vast antiquity? The ancient names, of archbishops or other prelates, of this termination, as *Tatwine*, *Bregwine*, and the like, are never so written in the ancient monuments of the Saxon:

(1) Thoresby on Camden, V. 1. As to Walker, see the last Dissertation.

(2) Dr. Smith's Preface to his fine Edition of Bede.

(3) Sir Andrew Fountaine, Tab. VIII. and X.

(4) Idem, Tab. VI. Eadmund, 25.

nation, the chronicle, the councils, the charters, or other manuscripts. I shall have done with the obverse, after noting, that the character P is not less than 300 years younger than the pretended date of this coin.

" As to the reverse; the town or city, where a piece was struck, never appears upon any Saxon coin in that place, (that is written round) if you will except a prelatical coin or two, till king Athelstan's time. Neither does the particle *ON*, without the word *Monetarius*, or some abbreviation of that, appear, till after that.

" 'Tis a doubt also with me, whether the ancient city of York was called Eoferwic, in these early days (1); though Mr. Drake above seems to admit it. But be this as it may, king Edwin's money would be coined, doubtless, for the use and benefit of his own subjects, and of nobody else; and whereas Mr. Drake has observed, and I think with great colour of reason, that every coin which the Northumbrian kings struck during the heptarchy, was probably done at York, there was no occasion for the mention of the place of coinage upon Edwin's money, he having, probably, no other mints but those at York. Afterwards, indeed, when the several kingdoms of the heptarchy were swallowed up in a monarchy, and mints were set a going in various and distant parts of this, there arose a necessity of specifying the places of coinage, and it grew to be a general custom. It appears from Mr. Drake's plate, and is a particular much to be remarked, that the name of the city of York is seen upon no coin till *Guthman* the Dane, who flourished in king Ælfred's time, supposing the pieces given to him to be his (2), but quære

" Lastly, I cannot but think it extraordinary, that admitting the coin to have been minted after Edwin became a christian, and that a cross of some sort might for that reason appear upon the area of the reverse, it should be so unlike all the other Northumbrian crosses, and so perfectly resemble those in use 400 years after.

(1) Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 3. 6.

(2) Drake, *Eborac.* p. CIV.

" This

" This coin then, I conclude, liable to so many just exceptions, cannot possibly appertain to Edwin king of Northumberland; and indeed it has nothing of the cast or air of our oldest pieces; not one favourable circumstance, bating the name of the king, to counterbalance all these objections; whilst, on the contrary, every thing corresponds exactly with the age of Edward the Confessor; the stile; the orthography of the king's name, as shall be evinced by and by; the character P; the legend on the reverse, the cross there, and the entire form of the reverse, which, and truly this is highly worth observing, is minutely the same with two others on the Confessor's coins minted at the same place (1). The annulet, which appears upon the area of these two pennies, as likewise it does in that of this famous unic, was at that time the mint-mark of the city of York; there are 18 pieces of this Edward, minted at York, and all but one have this annulet in their *area*. One has two, another has four, and the area or field is, by this means, sometimes much crowded, as in the two last mentioned pieces; nay, sometimes, part of the ornaments requisite are omitted, to make room for this mark. Other money, coined by the Confessor at other mints, have no such note of distinction, so that I regard it to be peculiar to the *City of York*, since it is not the mark of any particular master there, but of the place in general, different masters being concerned in striking these 18 pennies. This mark, however, we are sure is not ancient, as we never see it before the reign of king Edward the Elder (2), and consequently the appearance of it, upon the piece in question, is an incontestable argument against St. Edwin, but greatly in favor of the Confessor.

" Another argument in support of the Confessor's claim I deduce from the weight of the piece. The reverend Mr. Thoresby, son of the late great and indefatigable antiquary, was pleased to favor me, in the most obliging manner, with the weight of all his father's Saxon coins, and this, which is a fair penny, raises only 15 grains, which coincides with two

(1) Sir A. Fountaine, VI. 4. 5. (2) Ibidem, VII. No. 77.

others:

others of the Confessor's pence in that collection, whereof one weighs 15 grains, and the other $15\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and with a third in the Cottonian repository, which is perfect, and yet weighs but 15 grains; it is No. 16 in the catalogue. No. 8 there weighs but 16. There is no other money so light in those two cabinets, except one very small piece of the Confessor's in the Cotton-Collection, which is perfect, and yet weighs but 10 grains (1). The inscription, as was remarked, is not only in the taste and mode of the Confessor's age, but I verily believe the master, SLEEL (2), to be the same with SLEVIAE, who made one of the Confessor's coins at York with an annulet in the area; Mr. Thoresby himself esteemed them the same names (3).

"The grand and chief objection to Edward's title is the name of the prince; for as to the absence of the scepter, which I observed above was wanting, many of the Confessor's pennies, undoubtedly such, have not that. And so as to the radiated crown or diadem, the ornaments of the Confessor's head are various, as are those of *Cnut*, Harthacnut, and Harold I. and a radiated crown is no more a strange phænomenon on the head of this prince, (since we know it was formerly used in this nation by Egbert his predecessor) (4), than it is on that of Ethelred II. (5), or of Ludica of Mercia, whose head is adorned with a double one (6). On the ancient seal of the church of Durham, made probably in this very reign, king Oswald wears just such a crown as this (7). The sole bar, I say, to Edward's claim, is the name of the prince, which in Sir Andrew Fountaine's type is evidently EDPIN, but I dare be confident is misread. The last letter but one is A, the other stroke, which appears plainly in the draught in Camden, IV. 38. being lost in the drapery of Sir Andrew's print. This makes it EDPAN, without any sense. You

(1) Surely it could not be coined for a halfpenny?

(2) This, as I remember, is the true reading, much different from the type above.

(3) Thoresby, in Mus. No. 20 and 74.

(4) Sir A. Fountaine, VIII. Egbert, 2. (5) Ibid. II. Æthelred, 31.

(6) At least with a double number of rays or points.

(7) Dr. Smith, in Append. ad Bedam, p. 721.

need only then suppose the last letter to be miscut by the engraver that made the puncheon or die (and the like errors, as all know, are but too frequent in this series) and the business is done. But there is no occasion for this resort, for I inspected this capital coin in the year 1742, and clearly discovered that the last letter was D and not N, so that the name was EDPAD, an easy mistake for EDPARD.

“ Thus this penny, from being the most ancient of all the Saxon money, proves, in the event, to be one of the latest; however, it is scarcely less curious, and in one respect is an *unic* still, as being the only one of the sort, amongst the numerous specimens which we have of the Confessor’s money, and constituting an entire species of itself.

“ All I have to add is, that these observations, made many years ago, have since been signally confirmed in part, upon which I cannot but congratulate myself, by the judicious pen of that excellent scholar, the late Mr. Francis Wise. He not only gives it as his opinion, that king Edmund was the first that used the stile and title of *Rex Anglorum*, but also declares concerning this coin in particular, ‘ Hunc nummum nequeo,
 ‘ cum Cl. Walkero, Edwino Northumbriæ Regi adscribere, cum
 ‘ non solum inscriptio aliud suadeat, sed merito dubitandum sit,
 ‘ an tunc temporis, scilicet anno 617, quo Edwinus regnere
 ‘ cœpit, ullam monetam signatam hujuscem commetis habuerint
 ‘ Anglo Saxones (1).’ He thought it might be a coin of king Edwig; whence it appears, that this learned antiquary saw a glimpse of the truth, but how far he is right as to the prince, must be submitted, after what has been alleged on the Confessor’s behalf, to the decision of the candid and impartial reader.

Our commentator, I imagine, might proceed, and not improperly, in some such manner as this; and his observations, were he to add no others to those I have here made, would be sufficient, I am persuaded, to convince any reasonable and unprejudiced person, that this famous coin could never be the money of St. Edwin, but in all probability is a penny of Edward the Confessor.

(1) Wise, Catalog. Numm. Bodl. p. 231.

END OF THE SECOND DISSERTATION.

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA.

P. 32. **A** Like head in profile.] Mr. White has lately procured a fine penny with a bishop's head and *a full face*, but in other respects like this; and we embrace the opportunity of engraving it here.



P. 32. This number, from Mr. West's cabinet.] This reverse is by mistake omitted in the plate, in its place, and stands at No. 6.

P. 33. And the Dissertation there, No. V.] add,

JOHN MORTON.

This prelate, who had the singular happiness of uniting the two houses of York and Lancaster, and was a sagacious, prudent, steady, and magnanimous man, was translated from Ely to Canterbury, A. 1486, and sat in the latter see 14 years. I have here engraved an half groat of his, with an *M* in the center of the cross on the reverse, from Plate III. No. 35 of the Supplement to Mr. Folkes's Tables, on the suggestion, for I had really overlooked it, of Mr. White, a gentleman well versed in these matters, and whom I ought always to mention with respect. 'Tis a coin of Henry VII. and the *M* is supposed, and with reason, to be the initial of *Morton*.

P. 45.



P. 45. *Pendragon* was not this prince's proper name, for that was *Uter.*] According to Rapin, I. p. 39, his true name was neither the one nor the other, but both were *agnomina* of king Arthur.

P. 46. These particulars.] Gentlemen, I am sensible, are very unwilling to admit that the Saxons coined any gold; but surely this coin, in conjunction with the *Wigmund* to be mentioned below amongst the York coins, amounts to a clear and sufficient evidence of that fact.

P. 47. We have not a single penny older than *Æthelweard* king of *Wessex*, who acceded A. 727 or 728.] The like assertion occurs elsewhere, grounded on a view and consideration of the Saxon coins hitherto published, which is all that could be expected from me. But since the printing of these sheets, Mr. *White*, a gentleman well skilled in these matters, has suggested to me by letter, that Mr. *Lindgreen*, a friend of his, is possessed of 'a true and perfect Saxon coin of *Ethelbert's* (and 'in all probability the first of *Kent*) the king's head 'greatly resembles my coin of *Cuthred*, and likewise one of 'Offa's the reverse is like the *Roman* of the lower em- 'pire, a wolf and two boys, &c.'



This coin is undoubtedly rare and curious, and, by the favour of Mr. *White*, is here engraved. As to *Ethelbert I.* we have no reason to think he coined any money, as has been argued in our Essay, to which the Reader is referred. *Ethelbert II.* began to reign alone A. 748, and reigned ten or twelve years, so that the piece is most likely to be his. The arms of

R

Offa

Offa began to prevail in the *Kentish* kingdom soon after the death of this *Ethelbert*, and *Cuthred* king of Kent was a meer tributary of the *Mercians*; facts, which may seem sufficiently to account for any similitude between this *Ethelbert's* and *Offa's* or *Cuthred's* money. In regard to the reverse, a wolf with *Romulus* and *Remus*, this proves nothing in respect of either of the *Ethelberts*, as *Roman* coins with that device were no doubt perpetually discovered at *Canterbury* in both their reigns, as even they are now; and the moneyer, esteeming it a pretty fancy, might chuse to apply it. After all, gentlemen will please to judge, as they think proper, of the antiquity of the *Saxon* coinage; I have given my opinion, formed upon the present state of things, but am willing nevertheless to leave the matter open, and to wait for future discoveries.

P. 50. *Incera Numismata.*] Add; with heads.

P. 78, At $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains and less.] Mr. White, however, tells me he has several undoubtedly true coins of Edward the Confessor, which weigh from 24 to 25 and 26, and some 27 grains. Adding, these surely must have passed the weigher by accident or carelessness.

P. 83. It appears to me, from the words of king John, in the sixth year of his reign, that our archbishop was the first prelate that regained his right, after the year 1154,] This, however, is an oversight, since it does not clearly appear from thence, but from the words of king John in his first year given immediately above, where reference is made to an act of Richard I.

P. 83. Mints and exchanges are relatives, wherefore these words seem clearly to prove, that at that time, the sixth of John, the archbishop of Canterbury was the only prelate that enjoyed his mint; for surely if others had been allowed to possess mints and exchanges, theirs would have been excepted, as well as the archbishop's,] The inference here drawn is not just, I confess, since it is plain, from p. 84, that the bishop of Durham had his privilege renew'd to him by Rich. I. before 6th of John. 'Tis difficult now, however, to imagine a reason why the archbishop's exchange alone should be excepted. I must leave this to the sagacity of the reader.

P. 85. Cities and abbies.] Add; A precept in Nicholson's *Hist. Libr.* p. 256, likewise informs us, that Edw. III. invested the monastery at Reading with a like privilege.

P. 85. Stephen and John.] Add; Henry III. and Edw. III.

P. 87. Malicious Intention.] Add; it was not my design to register in this work all the coins of the archbishops of York, or of the bishops of Durham, whose coins, from 2 Hen. III. to the reign of Hen. VIII. are numerous, and indeed are many of them extant in the prelatical series of Mr. White's cabinet. See also Folkes's Tables, Plate VI. Plate I. and III. of Supplement, and Mr. Snelling's *View of Silver Coin*, p. 17. One cannot help wishing, on the occasion, that some gentleman of experience, who can have recourse to cabinets, Dr. Gifford or Mr. White, would favour us with an assemblage of *all* the prelatical coins, in two or three distinct plates.

P. 90. The country mints, it is intimated, did not coin halfpence and farthings after these began to be coined, but only pennies.] See also p. 32. For this I refer to Pinchbeck, in Battely's *Append. to Antiq. S. Edm. Burgi*, p. 135, where the words are very express, 'Verumptamen quia de obolo, vel 'Ferlinges, loqui non indiget, quia tantummodo in cambio Lon-
'donii componuntur, et non alibi; tamen de denariis, &c.' But this notwithstanding, it seems to be clear from a precept of Edw. III. in the 12th of his reign, printed in bishop Nicholson's *Hist. Library*, p. 256, that the abbot of Reading had the privilege of striking halfpence and farthings as well as pennies. The words are, 'Cum . . . concesserimus . . . Abbati et mo-
'nachis de Radyng, quod ipsi et successores in perpetuum ha-
'beant unum monetarium et unum cuneum . . . ad monetam
'ibidem, viz. tam ad obolos et Furlingos, quam ad Sterlingos,
'prout moris est, fabricandam et faciendam, &c.' whence one may fairly collect, that in Edward's reign the subordinate mints were impowered to coin these small pieces; and that they did it afterwards is plainly seen from the halfpenny of archbishop Warham, engraved in our plate, and see Folkes's Plate VI. No. 26. Indeed, if they were allowed to strike pennies, what reason can be assigned, why they should be debarred from making lesser money?

P. 99. TILVVINE should be TILEVIE, according to the type, and is consequently an erratum.

BOOKS sold by T. SNELLING.

1. A View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England, with Copper-Plates, in Boards, 12s 6d
2. Ditto of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England, 9s
3. ——— Copper Coin and Coinage of England, 10s 6d
4. Miscellaneous Views of Coins struck by English Princes in France—Counterfeit Sterlings—Coins struck by the East-India Company—Those in the West-India Colonies—and in the Isle of Man: Also, of Pattern Pieces of Gold, and Silver Coins, 10s 6d
5. A View of the original Nature and Use of Jettons, or Counters, with Copper-Plates, 7s 6d
6. A Supplement to Simons's Historical Essay on Irish Coins, with Plates, 3s
7. A View of the Coins at this Time current throughout Europe, in 25 Plates; 4s. in 8vo. 3s. in 12mo.
8. The Doctrine of Gold and Silver Computations; and the Valuation of Gold, Silver, and Parting Assays, 8vo. sewed, 4s
9. Dr. Stukeley's Coins of the ancient British Kings, in 23 Copper-Plates, 4to. 15s
10. ——— Medallic Hist. of Carausius, compleat, 11 1s
11. ——— Dissertation on Oriuna, Wife of Carausius, 3s
12. Dr. Kennedy's two Dissertations on Carausius, and another on him and Allectus, with Plates, 6s
13. ——— Letter to Dr. Stukeley, and Title to his three Tracts, separate, 1s
14. A curious ancient Seal of some Religious Foundation of King Athelstan, 6d
15. Ames's Index to Lord Pembroke's Medals, 2s 6d
16. ——— Catalogue of English Heads, 8vo. 2s 6d
17. Simons's Historical Essay on Irish Coins, 12s

